

C. AL.  
BR. HL.

THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

X





6,222.

# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

*with which is incorporated*  
*The Society of Biblical Archæology*

33295



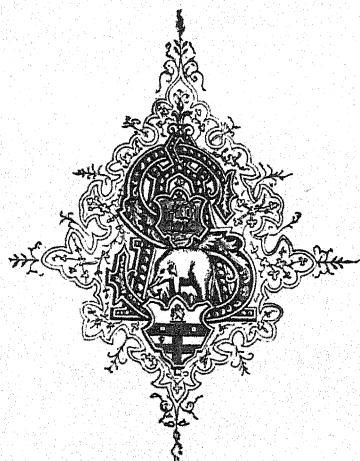
891.05

J. R. A. S.



Published by the Society  
56 QUEEN ANNE STREET LONDON W1  
1955

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED



PRINTERS, HERTFORD

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. .... 33.295 .....

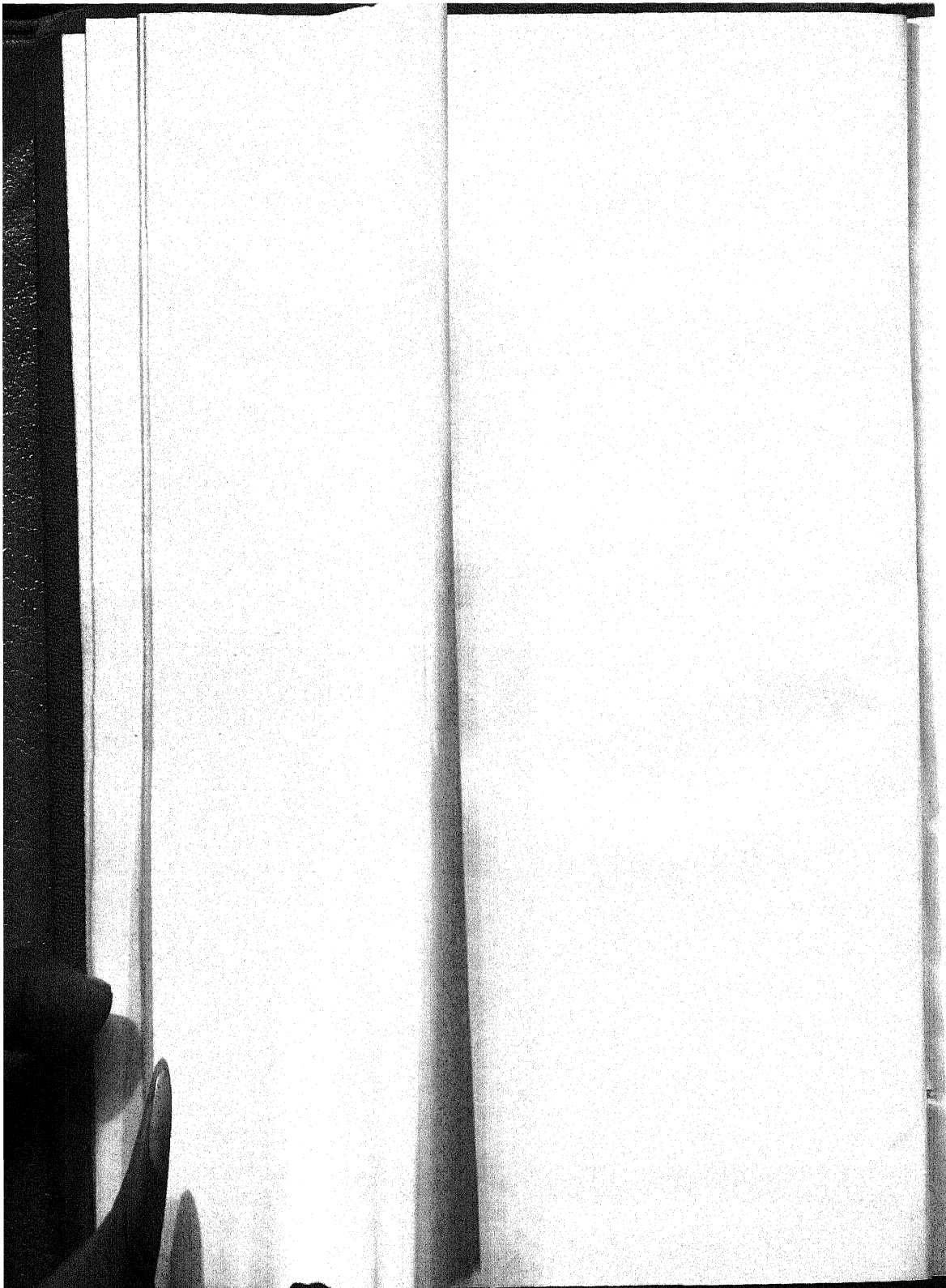
Date ..... 16.1.58 .....

Call No. .... 891.05 .....

J. R. A. S.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS, 1955

	PAGE
ARTICLES . . . . .	1-73, 106-168
REVIEWS OF BOOKS . . . . .	74-103, 169-192
OBITUARIES . . . . .	193
THE SOCIETY: ANNIVERSARY MEETING . . . . .	195
THE LIBRARY . . . . .	207-220
INDEX . . . . .	221
PLATES—I-III . . . . .	12, 16, 136



# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

56 QUEEN ANNE STREET, W. 1.

(Tel.: Welbeck 8944)

## Patron

HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE QUEEN

## Vice-Patrons

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN

## Honorary Vice-Presidents

1943 SIR JOHN H. MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.

1945 PROFESSOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS, C.B.E., D.Lit., M.R.C.S.

1951 THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH, K.G., G.C.S.I.,  
G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

## COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1955-56

### President

1955 SIR RICHARD O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt.,  
M.A.

### Director

1955 SIR GERARD L. M. CLAUSON, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.

### Vice-Presidents

1954 SIR PATRICK CADELL, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., V.D.

1952 PROFESSOR A. S. TRITTON, D.Litt., M.A.

1955 PROFESSOR SIR RALPH L. TURNER, Kt., M.C., F.B.A., Litt.D., M.A.

1955 PROFESSOR SIR R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER, Kt., C.I.E., M.C., F.B.A.,  
F.S.A., D.Lit.

## Honorary Officers

1949 L. D. BARNETT, Esq., C.B., F.B.A., Litt.D., M.A. (*Hon. Librarian*).

1949 C. C. BROWN, Esq. (*Hon. Treasurer*).

1955 D. SINOR, Esq., M.A.

## Ordinary Members of Council

1952 PROFESSOR H. W. BAILEY, F.B.A., Ph.D., M.A.

1952 DR. A. L. BASHAM, Ph.D., B.A.

1953 PROFESSOR C. R. BOXER, Hon. D.Litt.

1955 PROFESSOR J. BROUGH, D.Litt.

1952 A. H. CHOUDHURY, Esq.

1952 DR. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, Ph.D., M.A.

1955 SIR WALTER GURNER, C.S.I.

1953 DR. O. R. GURNEY.

1952 P. N. HAKSAR, Esq.

1952 PROFESSOR A. M. HONEYMAN, Ph.D., B.Litt.

1953 PROFESSOR BERNARD LEWIS, Ph.D.

1952 DR. D. S. RICE.

1952 PROFESSOR E. ROBERTSON, D.Litt., D.D., M.A., B.D.

1953 H. G. QUARITCH WALES, Esq., Litt.D., Ph.D., M.A.

1955 A. D. WALEY, Esq., C.B.E., F.B.A., LL.D., M.A.

## Secretary and Librarian

1940 MRS. M. DAVIS

## Assistant Librarian

1948 Miss M. E. FELL

## Hon. Solicitor

D. H. BRAMALL, Esq., M.B.E., T.D.

6 Westminster Palace Gardens (Artillery Row), Victoria Street, S.W. 1





## Captain João Ribeiro and his History of Ceylon, 1622-1693

By C. R. BOXER

THE *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x, nr : 36, pp. 263-309 (Colombo, 1890), contains an article by Donald Ferguson entitled "Captain João Ribeiro : his work on Ceylon and the French translation thereof by the Abbé Le Grand". The present article summarizes what has been discovered about Ribeiro and his work since that date, and makes a brief comparison of his *Fatalidade Historica da ilha de Ceilão* with the more celebrated *Historical Relation of the island of Ceylon* by Captain Robert Knox.

The article of 1890 proved that the faulty French version published by the Abbé Le Grand in 1701 was derived from an incomplete and corrupt copy of the original manuscript, thus accounting for most of the French editor's omissions and blunders.<sup>1</sup> Ferguson's work was written with his usual thoroughness, and requires correction in only one point. He was much puzzled by an inscription in the faulty Portuguese manuscript from which Le Grand worked (and which in the last century came into the hands of Ferguson himself), to the effect that in September, 1676, it belonged to a Dominican convent in Leon. A close inspection of the manuscript (reproduced in facsimile on p. 275 of the *JCBRAS.*, x) shows that Ferguson misread the date and place in the inscription, which really reads *São Domingos de Lx<sup>a</sup> [= Lisboa] de Setembro de 1686*, thus showing that this particular copy was then in the Dominican convent at Lisbon.

The biographical details given by Ferguson were derived from a few passing allusions in Ribeiro's own work ; nor was anything more known of his life until 1928, when Senhor Frazão de Vasconcellos published some extracts from relevant documents in the archives at Lisbon. A brief reference was made to this new information in the preface to the fourth edition of Dr. P. E. Pieris' English translation

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan, Ecrite par le capitaine Jean Ribeyro, & présentée au Roy de Portugal en 1685*, Paris, 1701. Cf. *JCBRAS.*, x, 263 ff. for this and other editions.

of Ribeiro's work, where, however, his erroneous assertions in the original preface to the third edition are somewhat incongruously retained.<sup>1</sup> A recent visit to the Lisbon archives having enabled me to amplify Senhor Frazão de Vasconcellos' discoveries, I give the gist of our joint researches here.

João Ribeiro was born at Lisbon in May, 1622, son of poor but honest parents, his father, Domingos Ribeiro, being a cap-maker (*barreteiro*) from Viseu in the province of Beira, and his mother Gracia de Aragão, the daughter of a Lisbon colleague.<sup>2</sup> We know nothing more about him until his embarkation for India as a private soldier in the armada which left Lisbon in March, 1640, under the command of the Viceroy, Count of Aveiras. This armada reached Goa on the 19th September; and a fortnight later the eighteen-year-old Ribeiro was sent to Ceylon as one of a reinforcement of 400 soldiers, experiencing his baptism of fire when the Portuguese retook Negombo from the Dutch in November.

For the next eighteen years Ribeiro served in Ceylon, taking part in all the chief engagements and jungle-warfare against the Dutch on the one hand and Raja Sinha's men on the other. During these campaigns—virtually continuous save for the truce of 1645-1652—he was promoted from the ranks through sergeant to captain, which last post he occupied three times. He was wounded on several occasions, notably at the epic siege of Colombo, where he was badly burnt by exploding hand-grenades. On the fall of Colombo (May, 1656), he was sent with the few survivors of the garrison to Negapatam, whence they marched overland across the Deccan and the Ghâts to Goa, and were forthwith shipped off again to Jafnapatam, the last Portuguese stronghold in Ceylon. Ribeiro's service in Ceylon ended with the capture of this fortress by the Dutch in June, 1658, when he was sent a prisoner to Batavia. He seems to have remained here for about a year before being shipped to Holland, whence he was repatriated to Portugal in 1660.<sup>3</sup>

The ex-prisoners from Ceylon were formed into a company attached to the *Terço da Armada Real*, or Regiment of the Royal Navy

<sup>1</sup> *The Historic Tragedy of the island of Ceilão*, Colombo, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Ribeiro's baptismal certificate d. 17th May, 1622, and other relevant documents printed by Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Subsídios Inéditos sobre o capitão João Ribeiro*, reprinted from *Brasões e Genealogias*, iii-vi (Lisboa, 1927), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, "Livros de registos do Concelho da guerra," Livro 30 (1661-1665), fls. 20-20v; Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisboa, "Cod. do Conselho Ultramarino," No. 84, fls. 128; 137v.

(corresponding to our Marines), with which unit Ribeiro served until the end of the war against Spain in 1668. He took part in the summer campaign of 1661, in the unsuccessful bombardment of Vigo in 1662, and particularly distinguished himself in the battle of Ameixial (8th June, 1663), where he fought in the vanguard "killing and wounding many of the enemy, and at the height of the conflict . . . he captured an Ensign, seizing his flag which he flourished aloft while pursuing the enemy, who frequently tried to kill him on account of this, and after their defeat he came and lowered the flag in front of our men." After participating in the recapture of Evora a few weeks later, he was promoted captain for his bravery in the field, and this time the promotion proved permanent.<sup>1</sup> In 1664 he served at the siege and capture of Valença de Alcantara, where he was severely wounded in the head. Although he nearly died of this wound, he recovered in time to fight in the last great battle of the war, Villa Viçosa or Montes-Claros (June, 1665), the result of which eventually forced the Spaniards reluctantly to recognize the independence of Portugal.

As a reward for twenty-seven years of continuous active service, João Ribeiro was granted a knighthood in the Military Order of Christ, the King "dispensing" as the term was, with his working-class origin, in view of his exceptional record as a fighting-man.<sup>2</sup> On the conclusion of peace with Spain (February, 1668), he was posted as garrison commander to Funchal, the capital of the island of Madeira. Here he met the sister of one of his old comrades from Ceylon, Mathias Catanho, who shortly before had been killed in a naval action against Algerine pirates. This lady, Dona Felipa Catanho, came of a noble family of blood and coat-armour; but the Lisbon cap-maker's son had now risen sufficiently in the world to aspire to her hand. Possibly she was the readier to accept him, since her father and both brothers had been killed in the wars, so she was left with the alternative of finding a husband or entering

<sup>1</sup> TT Lisboa, "Livro 30 de registos do Conselho de guerra," fl. 20-20v, his commission being dated 25th September, 1663. Ribeiro's name should be added to the list of officers whose biographies are given by Gastão de Melo de Matos, *Notícias do Terço da Armada Real, 1618-1707* (Lisboa, 1932), 145-196. The João Ribeiro listed on p. 165 of this book was a homonym of the Ceylon veteran, and a third officer of this name is also mentioned in these records. (Conselho de Guerra, "Livro Registo" 35 (33) fls. 2, 124v.)

<sup>2</sup> AHU, Conselho Ultramarino No. 84, fls. 128, 137v; Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Subsidios Inéditos*, pp. 10-11.

a convent.<sup>1</sup> Ribeiro remained at Funchal until he was recalled to Lisbon and placed on the retired list in 1680, after serving, as he wrote, "for over forty years without missing a single day." It was now that he settled down to write his *Fatalidade Historica da ilha de Ceilão*, the preface to which is dated Lisbon, 8th January, 1685.

Three years later João Ribeiro, "still by the mercy of God in perfect health and understanding," wrote his last will and testament. He was by this time, if not previously, a deeply religious man, and his will includes an exhortation to his "wife and lady", whom he made his sole heir and legatee (apart from some charitable bequests of a religious nature), which throws a curious sidelight on his own character. "Do not," he adjured her, "trust in self-love, nor let flesh and blood claim your attention, for our own body is our worst enemy. . . . It does not matter whether we pass through life's journey rich or poor, but with an inward peace, and this I hope in the divine mercy will be given you. If you will keep my words in your heart, you cannot have a richer treasure, because nobody born wishes you better than I who tell you this. Although you may not think so, he who loves us best is not he who makes us laugh continuously, but he who makes us weep incessantly. If you have found me rather cross-grained sometimes, it was because I treated you like a good artificer does a piece of steel which he wishes to forge into a strong spring, heating it in the fire and hammering it into shape as often as necessary; until after repeated welding and filing, plunged and tempered in the water of mortification and endurance, it becomes a very strong and resilient spring which can last for ever. Thus I hope in God (who is the true artificer) that you will perfect yourself, since he knows that there was not an hour or a day in which I failed to love you after my fashion."<sup>2</sup>

João Ribiero died five years later (November, 1693), but his counsels of perfection to his widow went unheeded. Either because she was not left with sufficient money to support herself after all his pious bequests had been paid, or because she had not been sufficiently "tempered in the water of mortification and endurance," she sought consolation in the arms of a second (and evidently a

<sup>1</sup> Mathias Catanho was killed when the frigate *São Bernardo* was accidentally blown up during a fight against Algerine pirates off the Portuguese coast, with the loss of all on board save five or six men; *Mercurio Portuguez de Outubro de 1665*; Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Subsídios Inéditos*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> TT Lisboa, "Livro 68 dos registos dos testamentos," fls. 74-77 verso.



younger) husband, marrying her own nephew, Manuel Telles de Menezes.<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned previously, Ribeiro dedicated his work to King Pedro II in January, 1685, but it remained unpublished in his own language until the Lisbon Academy of Sciences printed it in 1836, and this edition still remains the only one in Ribeiro's mother-tongue.<sup>2</sup> The work had, however, a fairly wide circulation in manuscript, three copies signed by the author being recorded. The first of these is the one in the library of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences from which the 1836 edition was printed; although the map of Ceylon which it then contained is no longer to be found in the codex.<sup>3</sup> The second signed copy is preserved in the National Library at Lisbon,<sup>4</sup> and the third is in my own possession.<sup>5</sup> I have examined all three, and there can be no doubt that the signatures of João Ribeiro are all by the same hand. Comparison of these with the signature of João Ribeiro reproduced by Senhor Frazão de Vasconcellos from a document of 1665,<sup>6</sup> proves that all four are in the autograph of João Ribeiro, thus allaying the doubts not unreasonably expressed by Ferguson when he wrote "it is strange that, while confessedly so little is known of Captain Ribeiro, the editors of the [Academy] MS. should be able to pronounce with such assurance upon his signature, etc."

The texts of the Lisbon Academy and National Library codices appear to be in the hand of the same amanuensis, who evidently also wrote the title-page of the MS. in my possession. The text of this

<sup>1</sup> Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Subsídios Inéditos*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> In vol. v of the *Collecção de notícias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas publicada pela Academia Real das Sciencias*, Lisboa, 1836, x + 288 pp.

<sup>3</sup> BAS, Lisboa, "Cod. Azul", 211. Ornamental title-page and five preliminary leaves followed by 155 numbered leaves of text, and list of contents on three unnumbered leaves. 4to; modern binding; the map of Ceylon has been removed from between leaves 45 and 46, but a reproduction of it will be found in the 1836 edition. It is obviously based on the one by Cipriano Sanches first printed in Mercator's *Atlas* of 1607. Cf. the reproduction from my copy (Pl. I).

<sup>4</sup> BNL, "Fundo Geral," no. 518. Ornamental title-page and three preliminary leaves, followed by 212 numbered leaves of text and list of contents; 4to; contemporary leather binding. Cf. Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Subsídios Inéditos*, p. 6, note (3).

<sup>5</sup> Plain title-page and three preliminary leaves, text on 209 numbered leaves, list of contents on four unnumbered leaves; 4to; modern binding. Cf. Maggs Bros., *Biblioteca Asiatica*, Pt. I (London, 1924), item nr: 351 (this copy).

<sup>6</sup> Certificate dated 2nd January, 1665, in Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Subsídios Inéditos*, p. 11. The signature from my copy is reproduced on p. 12 *infra*.



last is, however, in a more ornamental hand than are those of the first two, and each "Livro" or "Book" has a separate title-page with curious and complicated pen-and-ink decorations.<sup>1</sup> This copy also has the map of Ceylon drawn on vellum, whereas it is on paper in the BNL copy and was apparently so in the Academy copy.<sup>2</sup> Finally, my copy has some corrections and additions made in a hand which appears to be that of the author, judging by comparison with the signature; and these indications lead me to believe that it was probably Ribeiro's own copy, or was at any rate corrected by him.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, my copy lacks the lavishly decorated title-pages present (in slightly differing but generally similar forms) in both the Academy and National Library copies.

In addition to these three signed copies, I have examined three other unsigned and later copies,<sup>4</sup> and others are known to exist. One of these latter is in the Esperança Library at Evora, and is briefly described by Ferguson from an article by A. F. Barata. I have not had the opportunity of examining the Esperança codex myself; but from the details given in Barata's own article,<sup>5</sup> it is clear that his claim that this codex represents a vastly improved version of Ribeiro's original manuscript of 1685 is untenable. The instances which he gives in support of his theory nearly all indicate (as Ferguson noted) exactly the contrary; the rendering of the 1685 version being in almost every instance, clearer, more concise, and more correct, than the pompous and inflated prose of the parallel

<sup>1</sup> This and other indications suggest that each of the copies was composed anew from Ribeiro's original draft, as the three manuscripts agree in general form but present minor variations throughout.

<sup>2</sup> There are slight differences in the nomenclature of the three maps; that in the BNL lists sixty-four place-names, the Academy copy (when extant) fifty-eight, and that in my possession sixty.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the passage in the MS. which corresponds to that printed in Livro 3, ch. iv, p. 233, line 15 of the 1836 edition, reads "... havia outra Ilha e poucação semelhante de Portuguezes chamada Timor ...", these last two words having been inserted by Ribeiro.

<sup>4</sup> BNL, "Fundo Geral" nr: 530, an inferior 18th-century copy; and *ibidem* nr: 531, an 18th-century copy of Book III only. A 17th-century copy of 232 quarto pages (but without the map) in a contemporary vellum binding, is priced at over £30 in a Lisbon bookseller's recent catalogue, *Catálogo de livros seleccionados postos à venda por o Mundo do Livro* (Lisboa, 1952), nr: 1922.

<sup>5</sup> A. F. Barata, *Breve confronto de um impresso da Academia Real das Sciencias com um manuscripto do excellentissimo senhor Visconde da Esperança sobre a historia da ilha de Ceilão*, Evora, 1886. This library has recently been purchased by the Portuguese government, and the MS. should therefore be available for inspection before long.

passages in the *Esperança* codex.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the list of the Captain-generals of Ceylon as given by Barata from this codex is garbled and incorrect, containing such glaring errors as Manuel Mascarenhas *Magalhães* (instead of Manuel Mascarenhas *Homem*), and placing Dom Felipe Mascarenhas after D. Antonio Mascarenhas and Manuel Mascarenhas *Homem*, instead of between them.

In our own day, Ribeiro has found a competent translator and editor in the Sinhalese scholar, Dr. Paul Pieris, four editions of whose translation were published in Ceylon between 1909 and 1949.<sup>2</sup> This is in itself sufficient testimony to the value and interest of Ribeiro's work, and I will confine myself to considering points which have not hitherto attracted the notice of his editors and commentators.

João Ribeiro must have begun his *Historical Tragedy of the island of Ceylon* about the same time as Robert Knox was finishing his *Historical Relation of the island of Ceylon*, which was published at London in 1681, with a brief commendation by Sir Christopher Wren, and a lengthy preface by Dr. Robert Hooke.<sup>3</sup> This celebrated work was greatly admired by Daniel Defoe and is said to have influenced his *Robinson Crusoe*. As might be expected, the two works dovetail into and complement each other on many points, as Ribeiro served in the lowlands of Ceylon from 1640 to 1658, whereas Robert Knox was a prisoner at large in the Kandyan highlands from 1660 to 1679. Between them, they therefore cover most of the long and eventful reign of Raja Sinha II (1629-1687).

Knox learnt the language and Ribeiro did not, but the elegance of the Sinhalese tongue and its musical qualities strongly appealed to them both.<sup>4</sup> They both considered that the Sinhalese more closely resembled Europeans in physical appearance than did any other Asians. Ribeiro wrote, "their features are well formed and in no way different from those of us Portuguese"; whereas Knox observed "In carriage and behaviour they are very grave and stately, like unto the Portugals," and again "I know no nation in the world do so exactly resemble the Sinhalese as the people of Europe".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ferguson's article in *JCBRAS.*, vol. x, pp. 299 ff. After reading Barata's article, I consider Ferguson's comments to be unduly lenient.

<sup>2</sup> Quotations in this article are from the fourth edition, Colombo, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Quotations in this article are from the MacLehose edition, Glasgow, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16, p. 52; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 9, pp. 168-169.

<sup>5</sup> Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16, p. 51; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 1, pp. 98, 103.

Both Ribeiro and Knox were evidently something of misogynists. Knox remained an unrepentant bachelor all his life, and Ribeiro, by his own admission, was a rather crusty husband. Yet both found much to admire in the Sinhalese women, Ribeiro eulogizing their "beautiful eyes", cleanliness, and neatness, and their tasty cooking. He thought that their dress, which they wore "in a very dignified and stately fashion", was superior to that of his countrywomen in India. Knox, too, commended their stately deportment "after the Portugal manner of whom I think they have learned"; but what chiefly appealed to his thrifty soul was that "it is a disgrace to them to be prodigal, and their pride and glory to be accounted near and saving".<sup>1</sup>

Both stigmatized the islanders as generally treacherous, lazy, covetous, and lascivious, although many instances in their own works prove the contrary. Ribeiro, for example, admits that the arms-coolies who served in the Portuguese flying columns were very loyal and reliable, "and in case of a defeat they would rather lose their lives than abandon their loads."<sup>2</sup> He also states that the Sinhalese *lascarins* (as the Portuguese called their auxiliary troops) under similar circumstances would save the lives of their Portuguese *Dissavas* "even at the cost of their own".<sup>3</sup> Both Knox and Ribeiro admired the skill of the Sinhalese herbalists in curing wounds and skin diseases; but it was Ribeiro who followed the Sinhalese practice of bathing twice a day as a preventive against disease, "with the result," he writes, "that for sixteen years I never had a pain in hand or foot." Finally, it is worth noting that although the English sailor was kindly treated by his captors and lived (relatively speaking) the life of Riley in Lotus-land, whereas the Portuguese soldier was engaged in savage jungle-warfare for most of his time in Ceylon, yet the Portuguese is far more enthusiastic in his account of the island than is the Englishman.

Robert Knox epitomized the vicissitudes of the fighting between the Portuguese and Raja Sinha II as follows: "There were great and long wars between the King of Ceylon and the Portuguese: and many of the brave Portugal Generals are still in memory among

<sup>1</sup> Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16, p. 51; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 1, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 10, p. 29. These bearers were all drawn from the wood-cutter caste.

<sup>3</sup> Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16, p. 52. *Disava* (Sinhalese, *Disāwa*) was the equivalent of a provincial governor.

them . . . great vexations they gave the King by their irruptions into his dominions, and great mischefts they did him, though often-times with great loss on their side. Great battles have been lost and won between them, with great destruction of men on both parts. But being greatly distressed at last, he sent and called in the Hollander to his aid. By whose seasonable assistance, together with his own arms, the King totally dispossessed the Portuguese, and routed them out of the land. Whose rooms the Dutch now occupy, paying themselves for their pains."<sup>1</sup>

It is the history of these "great and long wars" which forms the second part of Ribeiro's work, which here evokes comparison not so much with Knox's *History* (hearsay evidence on this point), as with the memoirs of the German mercenary soldier, Johann Jacob Saar of Nüremberg, who served the Dutch East-India Company in Ceylon from 1647 to 1659.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Ribeiro was twice captured by the Dutch, Saar was once a prisoner of the Portuguese, when the treatment he received made him a much bitterer man than Ribeiro, who is on the whole remarkably fair-minded in his comments on the heretic Hollanders. Taken together, the recollections of Saar and Ribeiro give us a graphic picture of the fighting in Ceylon from the viewpoint of the rank and file. Admittedly, their dates and figures are seldom reliable, Ribeiro in particular being prone to use the multiplication table when estimating the enemy's casualties. For example, when describing the defeat and death of the Sinhalese commander, Siyane Korale Bandar, after the recapture of Negombo in November, 1640, he states that the enemy numbered 20,000 men, a figure which has been accepted unquestioningly by all subsequent writers. Yet we know from the official dispatches of the Captain-General, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, that Dom Balthezar's force numbered only 3,000 men, the same strength as that of the Portuguese and their *lascarins*.<sup>3</sup> However, inflated casualty claims are

<sup>1</sup> Knox, Pt. IV, ch. 13, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Saar's *Ost Indianische Fünfzehnjährige Kriegs-Dienst von 1640 bis anno 1660*, was first published at Nüremberg in 1662, and reprinted in an enlarged edition ten years later. The best modern edition is that edited by S. P. L'Honoré Naber (The Hague, 1930). A useful summary in English will be found in *JCBRAS.*, vol. xi (1889), pp. 1-84. Saar enlisted as a cadet but never rose above the rank of corporal.

<sup>3</sup> Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 8, p. 113; dispatches of D. Felipe Mascarenhas and of the Viceroy of Goa, 12th November, 1640, and 19th January, 1641, in "Livros das Monções", Livro 47, ffs. 85-86 (India Office Transcripts). Siyane Korale Bandar was known to the Portuguese as Dom Balthezar.



still a feature of communiqués from the battle-front to-day, so Ribeiro need not be criticized too severely on this score.

The highlight of Ribeiro's second part is the great siege of Colombo, which lasted from October, 1655, to May, 1656. He himself played a distinguished part in the defence, and although he does not directly allude to his own services, he may, I think, be identified as the hero of two incidents which he recounts at some length. In the first of these he describes the mining and counter-mining beneath the bastion of São João, and explains how the sentry-post in the Portuguese counter-mine was manned under such appalling conditions that out of eighty men who volunteered for this duty, "only three went through with this horrible and unbearable ordeal till the end, a period exceeding three months. Of these one was Manoel de Sousa, a native of Villa Viçosa, who was called Sousinha owing to his small size: the second was Francisco Pereira, a native of the isle of Terceira: and the third was a native Captain of this City."<sup>1</sup> "This city" was of course Lisbon, where Ribeiro was writing his book; and the third captain must have been Ribeiro, as he always gives to others the honour which was their due, specifically mentioning their names when recounting their services.

The other incident relates to the unsuccessful Dutch assault on the city on 12th November, 1655. Ribeiro describes how during the height of the struggle the Captain-Major, Gaspar Figueira de Serpe, received a report that the Dutch had carried the breastwork on the shore. "To repel this danger he ordered a captain whom he trusted to hasten to its relief. This he did, and thinking that the soldiers were following him, he found himself at the entrance thereto with only one follower, and that post abandoned by the townsmen who were manning it. These two men fell on the enemy who were within and compelled them to jump down on to the beach, thus blocking the entrance of those who were trying to get in. The enemy, thinking that a large reinforcement had arrived, threw many grenades inside, which set fire to the powder-pans with which all our bastions were well supplied, and thus our captain did not escape being burnt. On seeing the fire, some of the soldiers and townsmen who had abandoned the position hastened back to its defence, through shame at seeing that two men alone had expelled the enemy." Here again, a comparison with the official citations of Ribeiro's services in Ceylon

<sup>1</sup> Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 24.

leaves no doubt in my mind that Ribeiro was the gallant captain concerned.<sup>1</sup>

The third part of Ribeiro's book is an indictment of Portugal's colonial policy in the East, and this may explain why it was not published until 1836. His chief criticism is that Portugal overtaxed her strength in trying to control far more than her meagre resources and population could support. "From the Cape of Good Hope onwards," he writes, "we were unwilling to leave anything outside of our control; we were anxious to lay hands on everything in that huge stretch of over 5,000 leagues from Sofala to Japan; and what was worse, was that we set about this without calculating our strength, or thinking that even with the natives themselves this conquest could not last for ever." In his view, the Portuguese should have been content with Affonso de Albuquerque's original plan of holding Goa, Ormuz, and Malacca, as the three essential naval bases for the maritime domination of the Indian Ocean—and with the conquest and colonization of Ceylon, "the finest piece of land which the Creator has placed upon this earth."<sup>2</sup>

The Portuguese record in Ceylon has often been criticized, and not without good reasons. The atrocities they committed, the temples they destroyed, and the wrongs they inflicted have been fully recorded by many historians, and not least by their own chroniclers, Diogo do Couto, Antonio Bocarro, Fernão de Queiroz, and by Ribeiro himself. Yet there is another side to the picture. Robert Knox, who only set foot in the island after Ribeiro and his countrymen had left it for ever, noted that the inhabitants of the lowlands "formerly were in subjection to the Portuguese, whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian people. Which pleasing them far better than their own have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards strangers, being apt to show pity and compassion on them in their distress. And you shall hear them oftentimes upbraiding the highlanders for their insolent and rude behaviour."<sup>3</sup>

There is no need to take Robert Knox's strictures on the sturdy

<sup>1</sup> Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 23. My translation of this passage differs slightly from that of Dr. Pieris. Cf. also the citations of Ribeiro's services listed in p. 2, note (3) above.

<sup>2</sup> Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 1; Book III, ch. 1 ("o melhor pedaço da terra que o Creador pos neste mundo.").

<sup>3</sup> Knox, Pt. IV, ch. 2, p. 195.



Kandyan highlanders (by whom, after all, he was remarkably well treated) too seriously; but it remains true that many of the converted low-country Sinhalese clung to the Roman Catholic religion after the enforced departure of their priests and despite active persecution on the part of the Dutch. Finally, although comparisons between different colonizing powers are probably more odious than most, yet it is worth recalling that the Sinhalese proverb "I have given pepper and got ginger", spoken with reference to a man who makes a bad exchange, was applied by the Sinhalese to the Dutch succeeding the Portuguese in their island.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knox, Pt. III, ch. 9, p. 171.

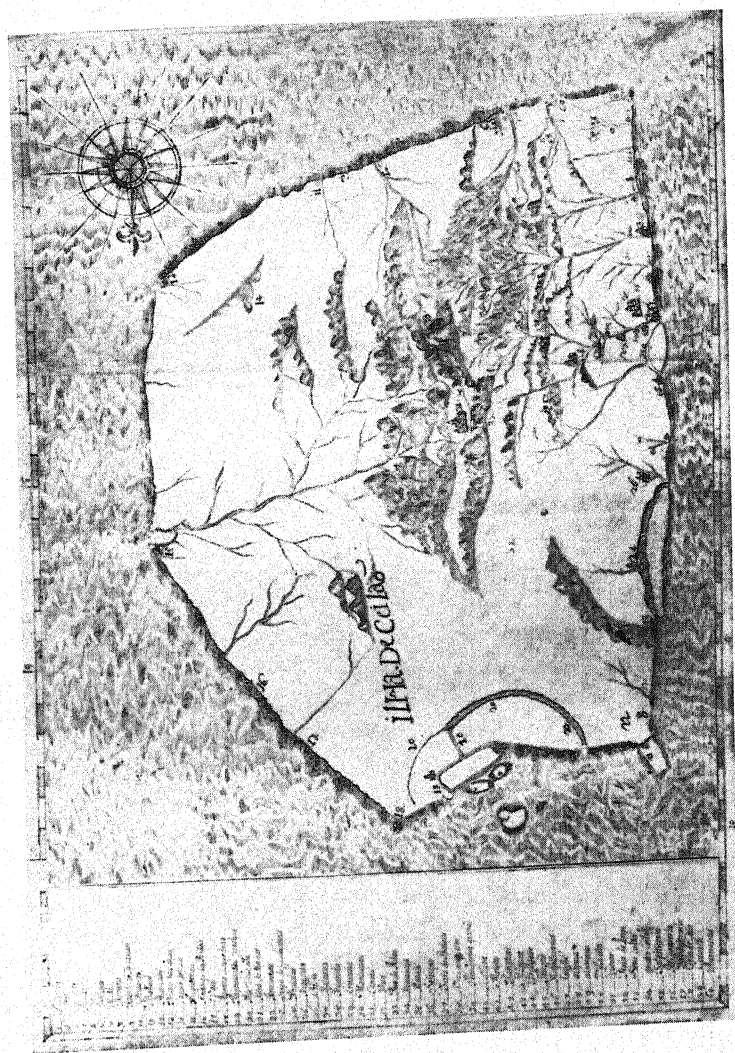
*João Ribeiro*

#### APPENDIX

##### LIST OF NAMES ON RIBEIRO'S MAP OF CEYLON, 1685

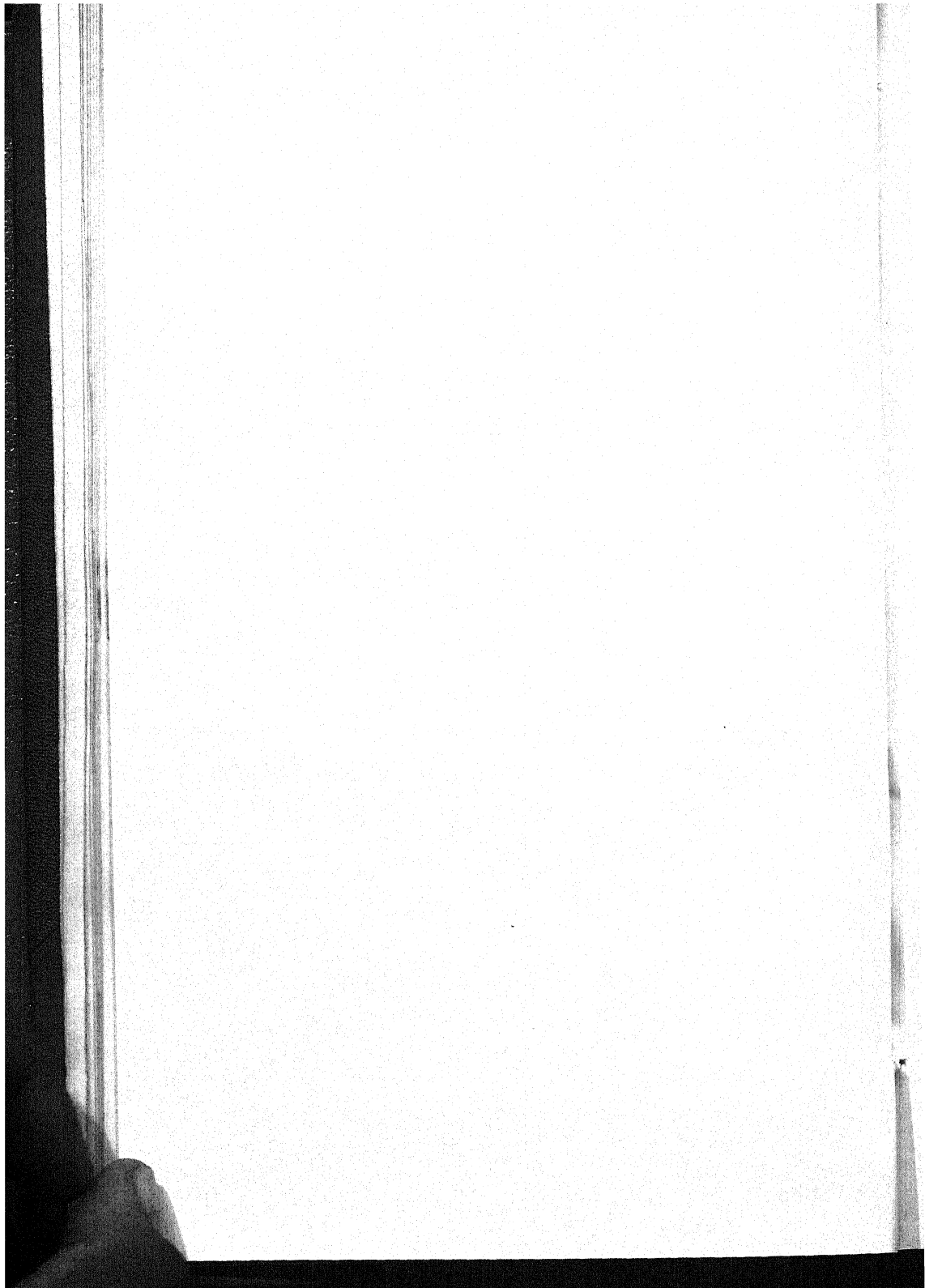
- |                          |                        |                    |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Columbo               | 21. Ilha de Manar      | 41. Morotto        |
| 2. Cotta                 | 22. Amantota           | 42. Panaturé       |
| 3. Calliture             | 23. Serra de Grudumalé | 43. Mácune         |
| 4. Allicao               | 24. Phatalao           | 44. Bellitotte     |
| 5. Galle                 | 25. Negumbo            | 45. Totegão        |
| 6. Belligão              | 26. Chilao             | 46. Mapollegania   |
| 7. Mature                | 27. Maluana            | 47. Cogolla        |
| 8. Bentotta              | 28. Ruanelia           | 48. a Curaça       |
| 9. Pagode de Tananaré    | 29. Ceitauaca          | 49. a Cumana       |
| 10. Greuaya              | 30. Manicauaré         | 50. Villacem       |
| 11. Ballané              | 31. Candia             | 51. Cutiar         |
| 12. Batecaloa            | 32. Vua                | 52. Praia de Aripo |
| 13. Marinhas do Sal      | 33. Pico de Adão       | 53. Sette Corlas   |
| 14. Capello de frade     | 34. Dinauaca           | 54. quatro Corlas  |
| 15. Triquimale           | 35. Matallé            | 55. Salpitorla     |
| 16. Abitação dos Bedas   | 36. Sofregão           | 56. Reigancorla    |
| 17. O Vaní               | 37. Serra de Ballane   | 57. Pasdumcorla    |
| 18. A ponta das pedras   | 38. Verganpetim        | 58. Corla de Galle |
| 19. Jafnapatão fortaleza | 39. Tranqueira grande  | 59. Gurubebe       |
| 20. Rio Salgado          | 40. Callané            | 60. Angoratotta    |

The original spelling has been retained.



MAP OF CEYLON ON VELLUM IN CAPTAIN JOÃO RIBEIRO'S MS. *HISTORICAL TRAGEDY OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON* (1685) (COLLECTION C. R. BOXER).

To face p. 12]



## Buddhist Sanskrit

By H. W. BAILEY

PROFESSOR EDGERTON has offered us in his recent work on Buddhist Sanskrit<sup>1</sup> (a monument to almost twenty years' labour) a material of delightful richness. It required both courage to undertake such a work and great persistence to carry it through. No doubt each reader will at first look eagerly to see how the cruces which have long baffled him have been resolved here ; then to see how much new matter is offered in the elucidation of texts where he has himself after long searching been able to gather up some small amount of the widely scattered evidence. He may even venture to estimate how much of the harvest has been garnered and how much still remains to be brought in.

We have here three volumes in over 900 closely printed pages comprising Dictionary, Grammar, and Reader of the Buddhist Sanskrit language. It is a field of study where many earlier labourers have struggled along without any such aid ; for the future they will find that all work in these texts will be admirably lightened.

The achievement can be measured by noting the many discussions on rare and obscure words (as *akṣudrāvakāśa-*, *anela-*, *kupsara-*) and on technical terms (as *upaniṣad*, *avapapāduka-*, *kāya-*, *nidāna-*, *nimitta-*, *prahāṇa-*, *māra-*, *lakṣaṇa-*, *vihāra-*) ; and the incidental clarification of many passages in Pali texts. That many cruces must still remain (indicated by the frequent use of the query sign ?) discloses the interim state of these studies. For further advance there remain still to be tapped sources in Tibetan and Chinese (in translations, commentaries, and glossaries), and new unpublished Buddhist Sanskrit texts, whether from among the Stein manuscripts, as the *Kauśika-prajñā-pāramitā* and the *Sitātapatra*, or the important Gilgit manuscripts, which are eagerly awaited.

The author's considered opinion (*Reader*, preface v-vii) on Buddhist Sanskrit as a language and on the method incumbent upon editors of these peculiar texts will attract serious attention. The dictum that the non-Sanskrit word should be preferred (as nearer to the original, 1.51) is modified by the demand that each form should

<sup>1</sup> Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols. ; *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader*, 1953, Yale University Press (London : Geoffrey Cumberlege). Price 97s. 6d. and 16s.

be critically evaluated. He has also not found it possible to point to the "home" of Buddhist Sanskrit (*Grammar* 1.78-9), nor to show a close connection with any known Prakrit, a problem which is likely to be long debated.

The *Grammar* is filled with critical interpretations of the disparate data and contains many personal views. In the *Reader* the texts have been edited according to the principles the author has himself expounded.

One aspect of this study, not here especially noticed, is the interest of Buddhist Sanskrit for those who have the task of editing texts of Sogdian, Turkish, or the languages of Khotan, Kucha, and Karashahr. Thus the Khotanese *āyānī* "thoroughbred" gives a reality to the reading *āyāneya-* of the Śikṣā-samuccaya which here is replaced by the less evolved form *ājāneya-* (while *āyāneya-* is quoted as the manuscript reading, s.v. *ājāneya-*). The over-corrected form *-usthah-* in *abhyusthah-* "rise up" is here replaced by the spelling *abhyutthah-* with *-tth-*, though the Khotanese shows in its *vyusthah-* that the Buddhists used *-usthah-* at least when they taught the Khotanese.

For Buddhist studies the whole work is a treasury of precious things, and since all additions to our knowledge of this language are important for the interpretation of the numerous Indian texts and for the translations in the various languages, I set down here, keeping an alphabetic order for convenience, some of the notes suggested to me by an examination of the work. It will be observed that a considerable number of Middle Iranian words can be traced in this language, words which have been, as it would seem, introduced by the Iranian-speaking "Indo-Scythians" of north-western India in the period from about the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Many have long been known, as *kākhorda* "wizard",<sup>1</sup> *taṣṭa-* "cup", *sthora-* "horse", *kavaṣi-* "shoe", *kuratu* "shirt", *thavana* "cloth", *paryāṇa-* "saddle"<sup>2</sup>; others are pointed out below.

The word *avadranga-* "earnest money", taken as referring to money as "confirming" a transaction has already suggested the

<sup>1</sup> The reading with *-rda-* not *-rna-* in the Krorayina texts has been confirmed by an examination of the facsimile, where T. Burrow had left it uncertain in *BSOS.* 7.780.

<sup>2</sup> See T. Burrow, *BSOS.* 7.509 ff., 779 ff.; H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.* 10.917; P. Pelliot, *Mélanges Linossier* ii 426-430; J. Tavadia, *Indo-Iranian Studies* i 69-85.



Iran. base *drang-* "hold, make firm", of which a non-nasalized form is used in Khotan. *drjs-* "hold". For a "settled place" the words *dranga-* and *udranga-* are known.<sup>1</sup> In *udranga-* it is possible to see a developed form of *avadranga-*. The *dranga-* may be either a further change from *udranga-* by loss of *u-*, or direct from *drang-* "make firm". The word *dranga-* in Kharoṣṭhī texts from Krorayina may be originally "holding, established position" used to express an "office" held. So far not all these meanings can be quoted from Iranian texts. Sogdian *rδnk* occurring before *š'yknw* "residence, house" and *knδh* "town" may represent \**drang* "fortified".<sup>2</sup> The verb itself \**ava-dranj-* survives in Mid. Parth. *'wdrnž-* and Mid. Pers. *'wdrnz-*, but in the sense of "condemn".<sup>3</sup> Khotanese has *haṃdranḥj-* "keep", and Wakhī *vardezn-* "press down".<sup>4</sup>

Later evidence for the name of *Avalokiteśvara* is given in E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 189; A. von Staël-Holstein, *HJAS.* i 350 ff.; H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.* 10.910; M.-T. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*. The form *Avalokitasvara* quoted from N. D. Mironov, *JRAS.* 1927, 241 ff., can be seen in three Harvard Bud. Sanskrit fragments in the attached facsimile here. Since *sv-* and *śv-* were at times interchanged in Central Asia<sup>5</sup> both forms may have existed side by side, and thence have been translated into Chinese.

In addition to *kas-* with the preverbs *ud-*, *nis-* (causative), *pra-*, *vi-*, *anuvi-*, *pravi-*, *sam-* cited in the Petersburg Dictionary, there are in Krorayina *nikas-*, *nikhas-* (non-causative) "go out" (in Ardhamāg. *nikkas-*), and *akas-* "take away" (causative) in the forms *akas-*, *aḡas-*, *aḡajh-* with *ā-*. The form *ukas-* has been rendered

<sup>1</sup> This *udranga-* is quoted in the compound *mahodranga-* from the Kuṭṭāni-mata 936

*abhyantara-vyayārthaṃ na vilabdhō yo mayā mahodrangāḥ  
tatrāpi te 'nubandho no jāne kiṃ karomāmi*

by T. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents*, p. 99. The commentator explained by *nagarī* "town", and understood the "income from a town". He quoted the following verse from the lexicon *Vācaspati-kośa* :—

*karvaṭādhmo drangāḥ pattanād uttamās ca saḥ  
udrangās ca niveśās ca sa eva dranga ity api.*

In my copy of the Kuṭṭāni-mata there is a marginal note by J. J. Meyer giving a variant reading *mahādrangāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> See W. B. Henning, *BSOAS.* 12.605, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 51; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS.* 11.485.

<sup>4</sup> *Siddha-sāra* 126 v 5; IIFL 2, 464.

<sup>5</sup> As *svasti* for *svasti* in Krorayina, see T. Burrow, *Language*, p. 21.



"depart" (but also "ride").<sup>1</sup> The *u-* is here either from *ava-* through *o-*, or perhaps from *ut-*. If it has *ava-* it is parallel to the Bud.Sansk. *okasta-* "descended". The *ū-* from *o-* from *ava-* is attested in the Bharhut *ūkramti* "descent" in a context where the Sanskrit used *avakram-*.<sup>2</sup> The simple verb *kas-* survives in Khowar for "wander about".<sup>3</sup>

For the problem of *otkarika*, *utkarika* some information can be offered which I have received from J. Brough. The eighth Avadāna of the *Dvāvimśaty-avadāna*, the Kunkumādi-dāna-, has the following passage: *kiṃ tu pitā cāsmākaṃ kiṃ dharmaphalopajīvē āsīt, ahaṃ api tathā kariṣyāmīti; yadi otkarika āsīt otkarikaṃ kariṣyāmi, mahāsamudravaṇig āsīt, tat tathā kariṣyāmīti*.

Hence we have: "if he was an *otkarika* merchant, I will take up the work of an *otkarika*." In the Divyāvadāna *otkariko nāma vaṇik* should mean "a merchant of the type called *otkarika*". The meaning may from the context be "trader in foreign goods, importer", contrasting with the retail merchant whose livelihood is called *svalpavikraya-jīvikā* in the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, no. 92, verse 14. The Tibetan has the contrast in *gyl-choñ-pa* "merchant trading with (foreign ?) countries" and *chuñ-nu hēhoñ*. In *utkar-* may be contained the meaning "fetch out from, import".

Beside *kaḍvara-* "corpse" we can set *kaḍpara-* with secondary *-p-* from a Bud.Sansk. text quoted in BSOS. 9.291 (see also BSOAS. 11.295), rendered by Turkish *kyowtyo \*kövto*, Osmanli *gövede*.

Under *kañṭhaka-*, the name of the Bodhisattva's horse, it is interesting to add the Jaina *kanthaa-* "a kind of horse" (H. Jacobi, SBE. 45.47).

The problem of *kaṣāṭa-*, *kaṣaṭṭa-* is complex. In the Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary of Čhe-riñ dbañ-rgyal<sup>4</sup> we find (62 b 2 and 141 a 2) *kaṣaṣṭah*. The Pali word *kaṣāṭa-* "bad" was discussed by O. Stein in WZKM. 33.69 ff. To that we have now to add two cases of the loanword *kaṣaṭṭa-* in Khotanese used in descriptions of demons, a *vetāla* and a *yakṣa*.<sup>5</sup> The word has been taken from Bud.Sanskrit,

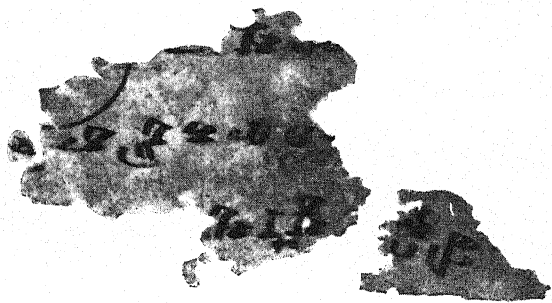
<sup>1</sup> T. Burrow, *Language*, p. 79, *Translation*, nos. 340, 637; H. Lüders, *Acta Oriental*. 18.40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. Lüders, *Bhārhut und die bud. Literatur* (1941), p. 45, wrongly opposed this view.

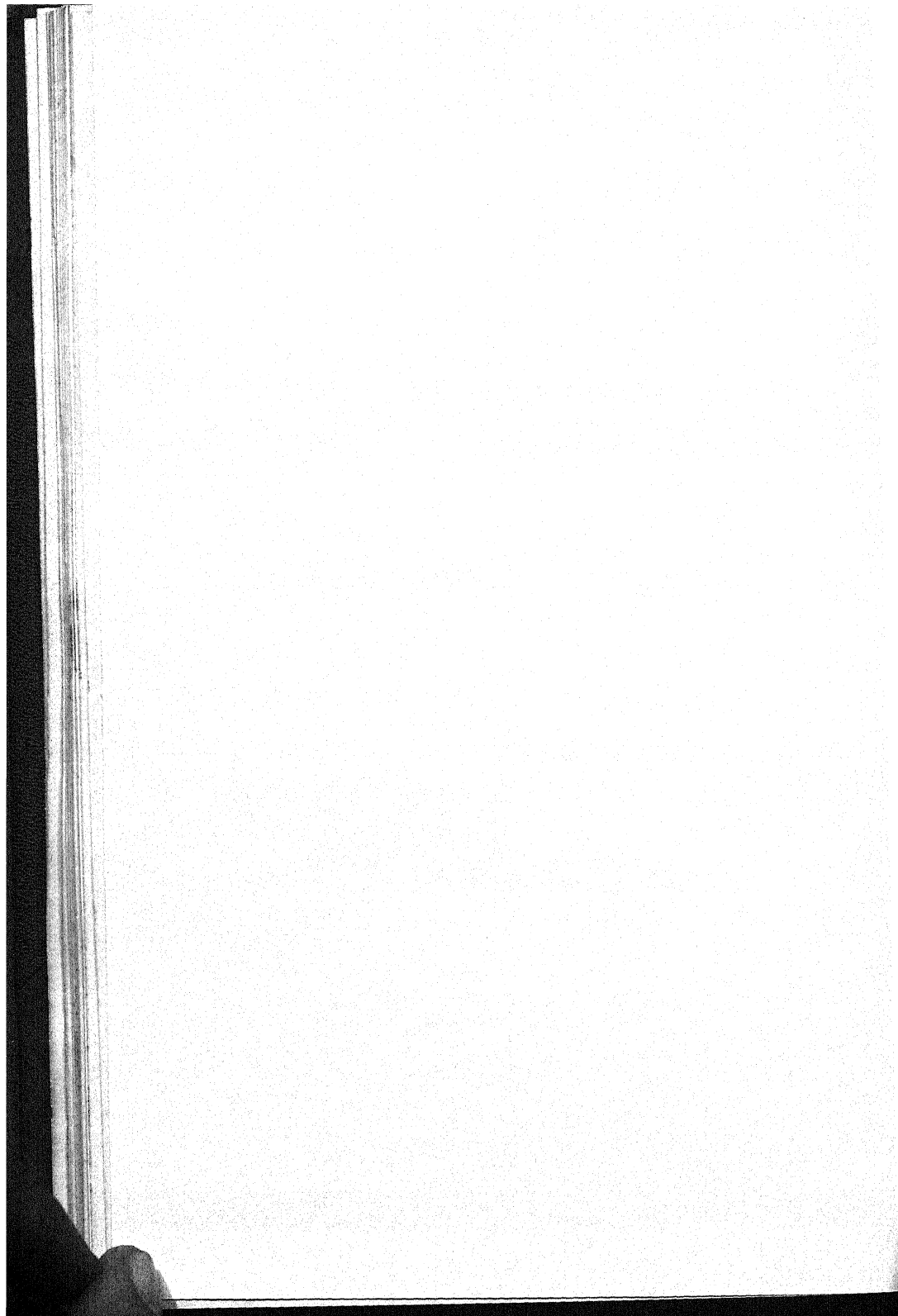
<sup>3</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Facsimile by J. Bacot, cited below as Lex. Bacot.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātaka-stava* 11 r 1, 12 v 3, in *Khotanese Texts* i.



HARVARD FRAGMENTS BUDDHIST SANSKRIT.



since from Prakrit one would expect ś with subscript hook indicating the voiced ź. From Sanskrit the -t- can represent either -t- or -tt-.

It is hardly possible to take *kāntāra*- alone as meaning "famine". The Tibetan translators clearly recognized in it the "wilderness", *dgon-pa*, and so translated it in compounds. The meaning "distress" is secondary. The *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* (p. 65) has in Tibetan (p. 49) *mugehi dgon-pa* for *durbhikṣa-kāntāra*- "distress of famine", and Khotanese has for this *ḍurbikṣmai haṃdramā*.<sup>1</sup>

To *Kāviśa* quoted from the *Manjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* the coin legend *kaviśiye nagara-devata* should be added.<sup>2</sup> The name is the later form of the city name listed here as *Kāpiśī*.

Under *kaitabha*- (frequent in the cliché on Brahman education) reference may be made to Sylvain Lévi's note in *Mélanges Linossier* ii 399 in treating of a passage of the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*.

For the textiles *kocava*, *coḍa*, *prnga* and others H. Lüders' article *Textilien im alten Turkistan* (1936) is important, and for *prnga*- "damask" we have now also a study by W. B. Henning.<sup>3</sup>

The word *krandita*- "threshed" in *Divyāvadāna* 563.8, omitted here, is of interest. The Tibetan translation has *brduṅs*. It seems that we have here a connection of Khovar *krom*-, Kati *kṛ am*- "to thresh".<sup>4</sup>

For *gulmaka*- (Sansk. *gulma*-) "division of an army", we should refer to the *gulmaka-sthāna*- of *Divyāvadāna* 457.2 "post of guardsmen" in the *Sudhana* story.<sup>5</sup>

The *gomaya-kārṣī*- of *Divyāvavāna* 306.23 means "a circle drawn in cowdung". The Khotanese *kārṣā*- from Bud.Sansk. *kārṣī*- is used in the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* to render *maṇḍalaka*- "circle".<sup>6</sup> In a fragmentary magical text (P 1311 b 5, unpubld.) the Khotanese has *samṇīja kārṣa* "circle made of dung".

It is possible to advance in the interpretation of *jaḍuvāra*-, with variant *jaḍupāra*-. In the *Lex. Bacot* the spelling is *jaḍubāraḥ* for *jaḍuvāra*- corresponding to Tib. *zur-ba*. In the medical text *Siddhasāra* Tib. *li zur-ba* and *li zir-ba* render the Sanskrit *śaṭī*

<sup>1</sup> *Khotanese Texts* i, p. 236 (*haṃdramā* only here).

<sup>2</sup> In Kharoṣṭhī script, see most recently R. B. Whitehead, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1947, 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Philological Soc.* 1946, 150 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* 2.268.

<sup>5</sup> The details can be seen (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Khotanese) in *BSOAS.* 13.922 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Khotanese Texts* i 238, 54 v 4.

"zedoary".<sup>1</sup> In *jaduvāra-* we therefore have the Mid.Iranian equivalent of NPers. *zadvār*, *žadvār*; *zador* in Latin of about A.D. 540.<sup>2</sup> In the first component we have probably the Old Iran. \**jatv-*, Old Ind. *jatu-* "gum", Zor.Pahl. *ztk*, *ztk*<sup>3</sup>; Armen. loan-word *žat* in *angužat*, NPers. *žad* "gum" (with non-Persian *ž-*) and Gāzī *že*. The *-p-* of *-pāra-* is probably secondary, but the meaning of this *-vāra-* is not clear.

In the *jomā*, *yomā*, *jyomā* "broth" we should probably see an Indianization of an Iran. \**zaruma-*, *zōma-*, attested in later forms in Khotanese *ysūma-*<sup>4</sup> "broth", Pašto *zwamma*, derived from *zav-* "to pour", as Avestan *haoma-* from *hav-* "press".

A particular use of *dharma-mukha* is treated by F. W. Thomas<sup>5</sup> and the word occurs several times in Khotanese texts.<sup>6</sup> Here should be mentioned the much-discussed title *damamūka* given in the Tibetan translation to the Dzang-lun. It has been considered apocryphal, a meaningless set of syllables to lend dignity to the text.<sup>7</sup> But it should be noted that *dharma-* has passed by the stage of *dhamma-* to *dama-* in the Khotanese *damarāśg* from *dharmarājikā* "belonging to the king of the Dharma" as an epithet of the *stūpa*, and that Ind. *mukha-* is several times written with *-k-* for older *-kh-*, as in *disamūka-* "daśamukha", *anantamūka* "anantamukha".<sup>8</sup> The meaning of *dharmamukha* "entrance into the doctrine" would suit well as a title for just such simple Buddhist tales. If the name is accidental it is at least appropriate.

The word *nipaka-* in Divyāvadāna 447.26 and 451.20 is rendered in Tibetan by *gtehu* "hostage", derivative of *gtaḥ*, *gtaḥ-ma* "pledge, pawn" by the common suffix *-hu*, and change of *a* to *e* (as *khra* and *khrehu*). The passage 451 reads: *karvatakah*

<sup>1</sup> 199 r 5 and 215 v 7. These Tibetan words are not in the three dictionaries of Jäschke, Desgodins, and Das. For the use of *li* before plant names see the note of B. Laufer, *Loan-words in Tibetan*, p. 55, note 1. In the Siddhasāra the Tib. *li don-gra* is rendered by *ūtāngare* (= *ttūngare*) "ginger" (Khotan. 12 v 2 = Tib. 143 r 7).

<sup>2</sup> *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Zedoary.

<sup>3</sup> Greater Bundahišn 116.7; 118.8.

<sup>4</sup> Siddhasāra 122 v 2 *ysuma-*, Tib. *śa-khu* "flesh broth", quoted earlier in BSOS. 8.141.

<sup>5</sup> *Miscell. Acad. Berolinensia* 1950, *A Kharoṣṭhī Document and the Arapacana Alphabet*, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> See BSOS. 14.531.

<sup>7</sup> See P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 26.261.

<sup>8</sup> *Khotanese Texts* ii 54, Ch. 1.0021 a, a 15; Sanskrit text P 2855 verso 1; 2 (unpubld).



*saṃnāmito nipakā gṛhītās cintakāḥ sthāpitāḥ* "the (mountain) village people was subdued, hostages were taken, and an official appointed", in the Tibetan *ri ḥor-pa phab-ste gtehu bzun sna-bo bskos lags-te*. In 447 we find: *rājabhataḥ sthāpito nipakās ca nigṛhītāḥ karapratyayās ca nibaddhāḥ*, in the Tibetan *sna-bo skos-te dpya-thaṅ bcaḍ gtehu yaṅ bzun-no* "an official was appointed, taxes were imposed, hostages also were taken". The meaning "hostage" is obviously right. A word of related meaning is *nīvī* explained as "pledge, *bandhaka*", and as "hostage" in the *Rājataranī*.<sup>1</sup> If related in origin the first long *-ī-* needs an explanation. From I. Gershevitch I can add the Chorasmian *nibāk* "pledge",<sup>2</sup> and Manichean Sogdian *np'q* "hostage".<sup>3</sup> We thus reach the base *nī-pā-* which occurs in the Avesta and the Rīgveda for "keep, observe". The rarity of the word *nīpaka-* "hostage" and of *nīvī* in this meaning may indicate a foreign word, and if so, probably from Mid.Iranian. It is possible to go further and connect here the Krorayina *namamniya*, *namani*, and *namanaḡa*.<sup>4</sup> The word is used with *deyamnae* "to be given" (*namani* with *uniti* in no. 769), and it has been rendered "exchange" in T. Burrow's *Translation*. He proposed to trace the word to an Iran. *\*nimāna-* "likeness", hence "equivalent". If however the word is traced to *nī-pana-* or *nīpāna-* through a later *\*nivana-* or *\*nivāna-* we should reach a meaning "pledge, pawn" which would suit the passages equally well. It would stand beside the Indian phrase in *badho deyamnae* with similar meaning. The two phrases stand side by side in no. 590 U-O 6 *namamniya deyamnae badho deyamnae* rendered by Burrow "to exchange her, to pledge her", while in no. 678 *bandhova thavamnae* is translated by "to mortgage". It was noted above that *nīvī* was explained by *bandhaka* "pledge". It would still be desirable to find proof that the *na-* in these words has replaced an older *nī-*.<sup>5</sup> For the *-m-* in place of Prakrit *-v-* reference can be made to Burrow, *Language*, p. 21. For a case where the starting point was *-p-* note the *viñamāṇi* of the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada O 23 where the corresponding Pali text has *viññāpāṇī* "instructive".

<sup>1</sup> Ed. M. A. Stein, 8.2216 *putrau dattavato nīvim*.

<sup>2</sup> A. Freiman, *Khorezmiskij Jazyk*, pp. 87-8, *fi nibāk* "with pledge" and *bamibāk* "without pledge".

<sup>3</sup> This word he had received from W. B. Henning.

<sup>4</sup> *namani* is found also in no. 769, edited by T. Burrow in *BSOS*. 9.113.

<sup>5</sup> The closer *i-* vowel may have been opened before the labial *v* or *m*, as happened in NPers. *namūnah* "specimen".

*paricakṣuṣā*- "part around the eyes" can be inserted from the Bud.Sansk. medical text cited in *BSOS*. 9.70.<sup>1</sup>

Another word to add is *paryāṇa*- "part of the buildings of a vihāra". It occurs in the Bud.Sanskrit list *vana*-, *paryāṇa*-, *deśa*-, *diśā*-, *janapada*.<sup>2</sup> In the Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa 3 b 3 we find the spelling *parāyāṇa*- in the series *loke aśaraṇe alayane aparāyāṇe advīpe*, and also together later *layanam parāyāṇam*.<sup>3</sup> The form *paryāṇa*- occurs in the Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon<sup>4</sup> explained in Chinese as 院 *yüan* "a walled court". It is found in the Bud.Sanskrit texts from Kuci.<sup>5</sup> It passed also to the languages of Kuci and Agni in the form *paryām*, *paryān*-. Thence the Turks received it and wrote it *pry'n*.<sup>6</sup> It will be necessary to find some one basic form from which both Bud.Sansk. *paryāṇa*- and Pali *parivena*- can be understood, as in the case of *vaitulya*-, *vaipulya*-, and Pali *vedalla*-. In Hindu Sansk. *astamāna*- "sunset" and *antarāṇa*- "disappearance" an older *-ayana*- has been replaced (in a long word) by *-ana*-. At present one may propose to trace both *paryāṇa*- and *parivena*- back to a word *pari-cayana*- in a meaning "enclosure", whence by way of *\*pari-y-ayana*- could come *-yāṇa*- and *-vena*- (with *-v-* for *-y-* as in Pali *āvudha*- "weapon").<sup>7</sup>

To *pāriyāttra*- "heavenly tree" we can add the Khotanese spelling (in E) *pārācāttrei*; *pāricātrā* and *pārīyāttaka*-.<sup>8</sup> From the language of Agni is cited *parijāttrā*.<sup>9</sup> Recent references to the tree are in P. Thieme, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda*, p. 69, and E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* 2.823.

The passage in which the *pula-caitya* occurs was studied by Sylvain Lévi with the Tibetan text and there can be no doubt that this *pula*- means "shoe", just as does the *pūla* cited from the Mahāvīyutpatti. Lévi's explanation was adopted also in H. Lüders'

<sup>1</sup> *Khotanese Texts* i, p. 178, 97 v 3.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Hist. Quarterly* 7.274-5.

<sup>4</sup> P. Bagchi, *Deux lexiques* i 336; ii 446, text 63 a 1.

<sup>5</sup> H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, p. 21, note 1, as *paryyana*.

<sup>6</sup> F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* 3.35; A. von Gabain, *Biographie Hüen-Tsang*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Such a meaning for *pari-cay*- can be seen in the Iranian *Yidya paržin* "enclosure for sheep", for which and other connected words see G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages* 2.240.

<sup>8</sup> *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* 49 and 103.

<sup>9</sup> 315 b 5 and *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 59.

discussion.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding Sogdian loanword *pwδ'y* "shoe" occurs in the Sūtra of Causes and Effects 177.<sup>2</sup>

Beside the spelling *pratyamitta-* of the Mahāvvyutpatti (Sakaki 2728 and Mironov's edition), which is given in the Dictionary under *pratyarthika-*, I have printed the spelling *pratyāmītra-*, with -ā-like the Pali *paccāmitta-*, in a Bud.Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* text of the Sumukha-sūtra.<sup>3</sup>

For the *plāvī* of *busa-plāvī* I was able to point to the *plāvī* corresponding to Pali *palāpa-* "chaff" and to show that *busa-plāvī* was composed of *busa-* "chaff, husks" and *plāvī* "chaff".<sup>4</sup>

Under *bāhayati* "expel", Pali *bāheti* it is desirable to note that the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada<sup>5</sup> has *brah-* corresponding to this *bāh-*, which would attach the word to *brah-*, *barh-*, *vrah-*, *varh-* "remove by force".

On the *mālā-vihāra-* Sylvain Lévi's fuller note in BSOS. 8.619 ff. will be serviceable.

To the *mocika-* "shoemaker" can be added the spelling *maucika-* in the Lex. Bacot 195 a 1 rendered by *lham-khan*. In the same place *moca-* stands beside *upānaham* translating *lham* "shoe". The word is Iranian, occurring with -aka- suffix in Zor.Pahl. *mōčak*, beside *mōk*, which reappears in Armen. loanwords *mučak*, *moyk*, and Georgian *mog-vi*. The derivative *patmōk*, *patmōcan* "garment" is frequent in Pahlavi.

Some advance can be made in the problem of *rājapaṭṭa-* occurring in a list of colours derived from plants, minerals, and metals. It follows *nīlī*, Tib. *rams* "indigo" and is explained by Chinese 靑 *ts'ing* "blue". In the Lex. Bacot (72 b 2) *rājapaṭṭam* is explained as *thiñ-sun* and in 75 a 3 *rājavadya*<sup>6</sup> occurs for *mithiñ-siñ*. In Tibetan

<sup>1</sup> Sylvain Lévi, J.A. 1915.1.113; H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Recognized by P. Pelliot, *Mélanges Linossier* ii 429 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 141, line 1001.

<sup>4</sup> BSOAS. 13.937.

<sup>5</sup> BSOAS. 11.497, O 2; 17. I take this opportunity to explain the verse O 5. Here *parikīrya'i* represents *paricaryayā* "service" with -k- secondarily introduced for -y- replacing -y- from -c-. In *pāda d* we have to read *udakārūḍhu* "descending into the water, bathing" from *udaka-* and *avarūḍha-* (with -ā- from -āva-) to agree with Pali references to *udakorohana-* as in Dīgha-Nikāya i 167. The sign earlier read -rka- certainly does not contain -r-, but stands for -kā-, the only case of the mark of length so far noted here. I have also found misreadings of c for j in 12 *muje'a*, *mujādi*, 23 *kaji*, 25, 26 *ja*, which need to be corrected.

<sup>6</sup> The -y- of *-vadya* is not certain. The Gilgit Manuscript (2.142.9) *rājavadya* is probably a misreading for *-vadya*.

*mthiñ* is used to refer to three blue things, indigo, turquoise, and lapis lazuli. For *mthiñ-ñun* is given the meaning "melted lapis lazuli".<sup>1</sup> In the Tibetan of the Mahāvvyutpatti and Lex. Bacot *ñiñ* "wood, tree" and *ñun* "bark" suggest that the translators thought of *rājapatta* as a vegetable dye, though the Chinese translation gave only the colour name *ts'ing*.

When it is remembered that *-p-* may be over-corrected from *-v-* as in *kadepara* above, and that Mid.Indian *-aṭṭa-* can replace *-arta-*<sup>2</sup> it seems that *rājapatta-* and *rājavatya-* should be identified with the well-known Hindu Sanskrit *rājāvarta-*, *rājavarta-*, and *lājavarta-* "lapis lazuli". The form *rājapatta* is reported as a variant.<sup>3</sup>

The connections of this work should be sought in Iranian since the lapis lazuli is a product of Badakhshan, and further north.<sup>4</sup> The turquoise *peroja-* is also named from the Persian.

The Iranian forms of the name were recognized by E. Benveniste in Sogdian *r'zβwrt*, *r'zβrt*, *r'čβwrt* *r'čβrt*, whence came Uigur *r'žwrt* and *'ržwrt*.<sup>5</sup> NPersian has *lāzavard*, *lāžward*, and *lājavard*.<sup>6</sup> In *-varta-* I propose to see the older form of the well-known word for "stone" in Indo-Aryan and Kāfirī: Khovar *bort*, Kalaša *bat*, Paśai *wār*, Aškun *wāt*, Kati *wott*.<sup>7</sup> Least changed is Wakhi *wurt*. The west Iranian Kurdish has preserved the corresponding word *bard* "stone".<sup>8</sup>

The same word *\*varta-* or perhaps *\*vṛta-* may be contained in Khotanese *ūḷāra-* "crystal".<sup>9</sup> To justify this connection I assume *\*vurda-* passing to (*\*vūda-* >) *ūda-*<sup>10</sup> with a suffix *-āra-* not yet explained. In the *Jātaka-stava* 19 v 1 *urvārīnai garā* "mountain of

<sup>1</sup> In Das's *Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Pali *saṃvaṭṭa* and *viṭṭa* come from *saṃvarta* and *vivarta-*; in Bud.Sanskrit *vaṭṭa-* "round" corresponds to *vṛta-*.

<sup>3</sup> L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*, p. xviii, with the short *-a-*; on p. 201 with the long *-ā-*.

<sup>4</sup> The Indianizing etymology is given in *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*, 13.214-16, ed. R. Garbe, p. 28, where *rāja-* taken as "king" is replaced by *nyṣa-*.

<sup>5</sup> J.A. 1936.1.228; F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* 4.31.

<sup>6</sup> The vowels are found in Armen. *lazvart*, *lažvard*, *lažurd*.

<sup>7</sup> Paśai keeps older *w-* and *b-* distinct, as in *waḡd-* "grow" *vardh-*, but *buḡai* from "old" from *\*bṛdha-*. Khovar keeps *-rt-*.

<sup>8</sup> For these words for "stone" see G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*. 7.12; *NTS*. 13.279; *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, p 50; *Report . . . to Afghanistan*, p. 71; *Notes on Phalūra*, p. 29; *Metathesis of Liquida in Dardic*; *11FL* 2. 549.

<sup>9</sup> Siddhasāra 148 v 5, translating Tib. *mchīñ-bu*, Sansk. *kāca-* "crystal".

<sup>10</sup> Variation of *vū-* and *ū-* (and *uyy-*) is known in *vūy-*, *ūy-*, *uyy-* "survey", see *BSOAS*. 10.910, and *JRAS*. 1953.

crystal” probably in *urvāra*- contains a wrongly written form of the same word (the scribe has other graphic errors).

The first component will then mean “blue”. For the *rājāvarta* the Sansk. epithet is *śyāma*-. The Khotanese *rrāṣa*- renders both Sansk. *śyāva*- and Tib. *śno-skya*, where *śno* is “blue, green” and *skya* is “grey”. In *rāṣa*- or *lāṣa*- may be contained a derivative from the base *rag*-, *rang*- “to colour”, which has supplied Old Ind. *rāga* “redness” and *rakta*- “red”; and in Iran. *\*raxša*- has given Khotan. *rrāṣa*- “dark colour”, and Armen. loanword *erašx* “reddish”. In the same way the base Indo-Iran. *śauk*- “be bright, burn” has provided both Old Ind. *śukla*- “white” and Avestan *suxra*-, NPers. *surx* “red” (and Khotan. *suraa*- “clean”).

The *vaheda*- “myrobolan, terminalia bellerica”, the source of the Latin word, assumes greater importance when it is remembered that from a related dialect form come the Khotan. *viñilai* and the Chin. 毗 醯 勒 K 714, 131, 523 *p’i-hi-lo* from *b’ji-xiei-lək* and | 梨 | K 527 *li* from *lji*. The form is near to the Prak. *baheda*- and Hindi *baheṛā*.<sup>1</sup>

A further reference for *vidrāpaṇā* “expelling” occurs in the *Sitātapatra* 20-1<sup>2</sup> *tripura-nagara-vidrāpaṇa-kara*- “destroyer of the Tripura cities”, and the agent in *-aka*-, *ibid.* 153-4 *asura-vidrāpaka*- “destroyer of demons”.

The word *śuluka*-, *suluka*- is explained by the Tibetan *čhwa* and the same word is used to explain *cukra*-. In the Lex. Bacot *čhwa* occurs for the Sanskrit words *lavaṇa*, *cukram*, *śuluka*, *lavina*, *lona*.<sup>3</sup> Tib. *čhwa* means “salt”, but it is also used for “acid”. Thus in the *Siddhasāra* 134 v 1 Khotan. *maruyā suttā* renders Sansk. *śukta*- “vinegar”.<sup>4</sup> In the Tibetan corresponds *čan-gi nañ-du čhwa* “the acid in wine (or beer)”. Similarly Tib. *čan-gi nañ-du kha-ru čhwa* corresponds to *sauvarcala*, Khotan. *spaju* “sochal salts”. The word *cukra*- “acidity” is well established. From it the Waigeli Kāfirī has *čukurā* “wine”,<sup>5</sup> while in Aškun *cukalā* means “bitter, sour”.

<sup>1</sup> In the Lex. Bacot 112 b 1 *bahoḍa* is put in error for *baheda*. For *p’i-li-lo*, see P. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques* i, no. 1008, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. c. 001.

<sup>3</sup> *cukra*- is miswritten *čakra*-, and *yona*- (? *yonra*-) is written for *lona*.

<sup>4</sup> In *Krorayina* the adj. *śuki* in the phrase 169 *śuki masu* we have a derivative by suffix *-ya*- from *śuka*- from *śukta*-, with the *-k*- = *-kk-* as in Prak. *mukka*- from *mukta*-. In 387 *śukha masu* represents *śukta madhu*, that is, “vinegar.”

<sup>5</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, 2.280.



In this *śuluka*-, *suluka*- may be concealed an Iranian word to be compared to the Ossetic *sulu*, Iron *sylj* "whey". From the *sulu*, *sylj* "fresh whey" a kind of cheese was made called in Iron *sylj-dzyrt*.<sup>1</sup>

An addition is the word *sāmīci*- in the meaning of some building connected with the *vihāra*, as in *saṃghārāma-stūpa-sāmīci-prahāṇasāla-devatāh* "the genii of the monastery, the *stūpa*-monument, the hall of reverence, the meditation hall".<sup>2</sup>

In matters of Grammar a point which still needs to be clarified is that of the presence of *-e* in *dhāraṇīs*. The nom. sing. of *-a* stems in *-e* is cited in 8.25 (also p. 4, note 11); and in 8.28 it is noted that the nom. sing. in *-e* may function as vocative. The use of this *-e* is infrequent in Bud.Sanskrit texts. For *-e* forms in the Gāthā verse of Pali we have recent notes of H. Lüders who considered them to be a feature of the earliest Buddhist compositions.<sup>3</sup> In *BSOAS*. 13.934 ff., faced with the problem of this *-e* in Bud.Sanskrit, I attempted to interpret the *-e* in *dhāraṇīs* as a nom. sing. masculine. Later I saw that the problem might be brought nearer to solution if it were recognized that the *-e* was used in *dhāraṇīs* also as masc. voc. singular. This "Māgadhi" use for both nom. and voc. sing. was already stated for Pali in W. Geiger's Pali Grammar (p. 81). That would mean that such a word as *maṇipadme* in the *mantra-pada* could be direct address, a masc. voc. sing. of an *a*-stem, identical with the feminine voc. singular *-e* from *ā*-stems.

For paragraph 1.102 it may be noticed that an absolutive in *-i* arose in the north-western Prakrit, in Kharoṣṭhī script, in the ending *-āya* from compounds in verbal bases ending in *-ā*. Thus *praha'i* "having abandoned" occurs in the Dharmapada, and the older *-yi* in Krorayina *uvadayi* (beside *uvada'e*) from *upādāya*. The *-i* is known in Khovar.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Lidén, *Zeit. f. vgl. Sprachf.* 61 (1934), *Zur indogerm. Terminologie der Milch-wirtschaft*, assumed a form *\*silu-* and proposed to trace the base *śar-* "break" in it, as in Old Ind. *śara-* "sour cream". But the Digor *sulu* makes it more likely that the base is *su-*. This could be traced to a base Indo-Eur. *keu-* "swell", just as Avestan *tūrya-* "made into cheese" can be traced to *teu-* "swell". Yidya *silyo* "cream" < *\*sidakā* IIFL 2.246.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, p. 21, note 1. The *prahāṇa-sāla* is evidently the equivalent of the Khotan. *jāya-sāṣṭaa-* discussed in *BSOAS*. 14.532.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur* (1941), p. 174; and *ZDMG*. 99 (1945-9), *Vādhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> NTS 14.27.

## Ujjhān—Ujjihāna—Ozoana

By J. PH. VOGEL

IN 1930 Pandit Rameshwar Dayal, then Deputy Collector at Cawnpore, published a note on a mound situated on a bend of the river Rind about two miles to the east of Bhikdeo, an important village in the Derapur *tahsil* of the Cawnpore district.<sup>1</sup> The mound covers an area of about 35 bighas and rises to a height of 35 feet. It contained large bricks measuring 30 in. by 20 in. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., evidently used for building purposes, and had yielded beads, coins, and other objects. Among the coins recovered from the site were copper coins of the Mathurā Satrap Hagamasha. From these finds Pt. Dayal concluded that the mound of Ujjhān was a site of archaeological interest which would repay excavation and ought to be declared protected under the Ancient Monuments Act. These recommendations however do not appear to have been acted upon.

The name Ujjhān of the hamlet occupying a corner of the mound possesses a special interest for the topography of ancient India. It suggests a connection with Ujjihāna, a locality mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>2</sup> The 71st *sarga* of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* contains a detailed account of the journey of Bharata from Rājagṛha to Ayodhyā after the death of his father Daśaratha. After crossing the Ganges at the famous town of Prāgvata<sup>3</sup> and passing a few villages he reaches the garden of Ujjihāna "where *priyaka*<sup>4</sup> trees are found". Here he takes leave of the escort which had accompanied him from Rājagṛha and continues his journey with swift horses. The commentator calls Ujjihāna a town (*nagarī*) and explains, that Bhārata could here leave his escort behind and travel safely to Ayodhyā on account of the proximity of the place to his own country.

There exists an obvious difficulty in identifying ancient Ujjihāna with the site of Ujjhān, which is situated a hundred miles to the west of the direct road from Allahabad to Faizabad. The ancient trade-routes, it is true, do not usually follow the straight line and

<sup>1</sup> *Jl. U. P. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv, part 2 (1930), pp. 42–45. From information supplied by Pt. Dayal, it appears that the correct name of the site is Ujjhān.

<sup>2</sup> *Rām.*, ii, 71, 12. Gorresio's edition has *Urjihānā*.

<sup>3</sup> This name seems to refer to the famous undecaying fig-tree of Prayāga (now Allahabad) which is also mentioned by Hsüan-tsang (Watters, vol. i, p. 362) and by Alberuni.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauclea Cadamba* or *Terminalia tomentosa*, according to B.R.

often make considerable detours which were necessitated by physical causes such as mountains and rivers or by political conditions. But in the present case it is difficult to account for such a roundabout way, the more so as Bharata was anxious to reach Ayodhyā as soon as possible. It is stated that he performed the whole journey from Rājagṛha to Ayodhyā in seven days.

We must take into consideration that the account of Bharata's journey in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* is not the itinerary of a geographer but a poetical narrative. The poet who composed it had certainly no map at his disposal. He probably had but a vague knowledge of the route followed by Bharata on his journey home. He does not even mention the river Son which nowadays a traveller from Rājgir to Benares has to cross not far from Sāhsārām (Sassaram).<sup>1</sup>

My friend, Mr. A. G. Shirreff, I.C.S. (ret.), drew my attention to a parallel case in English (or rather Scottish) literature.<sup>2</sup> The route by which Sir Walter Scott made Marmion be carried to Edinburgh was made the subject of good-natured banter by some of his friends. "Why," said one of them, "did ever mortal coming from England to Edinburgh, go by Gifford, Crichton Castle, Borthwick Castle, and over the top of Blackford Hill? Not only is it a circuitous *détour*, but there never was a road that way since the world was created." "That is a most irrelevant objection," replied Scott; "it was my good pleasure to bring Marmion by that route, for the purpose of describing the places you have mentioned, and the view from Blackford Hill—it was his business to find his road, and pick his steps the best way he could."

The Indian poet may have heard of the delightful garden of Ujjihāna with its shady *priyaka* trees; he may even have seen it himself. These reports or memories possibly induced him to insert the place in his account of Bharata's journey.

There is another mention of Ujjihāna in Sanskrit literature, viz. in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhita* xiv, 2, where the name is found among thirty-two tribes and towns located in the centre of India. This list, however, includes peoples and localities belonging to tracts

<sup>1</sup> It deserves notice that in the account of the journey of Arjuna, Bhīmasena, and Kṛṣṇa from the Kuru-country to Magadha, the kingdom of Jarāsandha, the great rivers to be crossed, including the S'onā, are mentioned in due order (*Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, adhy.* 20, 26-30). The name Ujjihānā does not occur in the Great Epic. See Sørensen's *Index*.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* with a biographical and critical memoir by F. T. Palgrave. London, 1881, p. 55.

far removed from the central portion of the country. The passage does not help us in fixing the position of Ujjihāna.

It is tempting to connect the name with Pali *Ujjuhāna* in *Theragāthā* 597 which the commentator explains as indicating a mountain covered with dense forest and abounding in natural tanks so as to make it an unpleasant abode during the rains. But it is also explained as the name of a bird !

We derive more benefit from the list of local Yakṣas in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Mahāmāyūrī* which was edited and discussed by Sylvain Lévi.<sup>1</sup> In verses 52-56 of this work the following towns are enumerated : Kauśāmbī, Śāntimatī, Ahicchatra, Kāmpilya, Ujjihāna, Maṇḍavī, Pāñcālī, and Gajasāhvaya, i.e. Hastināpura. The position of these places, except Śāntimatī and Maṇḍavī, is known. They are situated in the region watered by the Ganges and Jamnā above the junction of these two rivers. Ahicchatra, the capital of North Pāñcāla, is modern Rāmnagar near Aonla in the Bareilly district. Kāmpilya is Kampil in the Kaimganj *tahsil* of the Farukhābād district.

Ptolemy (VII, 1, 76) mentions three towns, Sibrion, Opotoura, and Ozoana situated in the country of the Drilofuleitai. The town Ozoana may be safely identified with Ujjihāna. The name is indeed the nearest approach to Ujjuhāna which the Greek alphabet allowed, the *h* being omitted (cf. *Hastakavapra* < *Astakapra* VII, 1, 60 and *Mahānādī* < *Manda* VII, 1, 16). The towns Sibrion and Opotoura have not been identified. Nor is it of any help that Ptolemy connects the three towns with the Drilofuleitai and locates this tribe (?) at the foot of the Ouxenton.

The interpretation of Ptolemy's fascinating chapter on Cisgangetic India must be based on the principle that he had received his information from Greek merchants, who had followed the established trade-routes.<sup>2</sup> In his successive lists of names these routes can clearly be recognized, and the stations on these routes are usually arranged from west to east. Thus we recognize a trade-route along the Ganges in §§ 72-73, as is evident from the inclusion of "the royal city" of Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra, modern Patna) and Tamalitēs (Skt. Tāmraliptī, Pali Tāmalitti, modern Tamluk) on the west of the Ganges delta.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal asiatique*, XI, v, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Archæologica Orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, pp. 226-234 and *Bull. School of Or. & Afr. Studies*, vol. xiv, pp. 78-86.



In § 76 the geographer deals with the Drilofuleitai and in the next paragraph he states that more eastward as far as the Ganges there is the territory of the Konkonagai in which the town Dosara is situated. All we can conclude with certainty is that Ozoana is to be located somewhere in the Gangetic plain. It may also be assumed that it was a station on an important trade route.

Although literary sources do not enable us to fix the position of Ujjihāna-Ozoana, there is some reason, on account of the similarity of name, to suppose that it is marked by the ancient mound of Ujjhān. It is only systematic excavation of the site under expert supervision from which a solution of the topographical problem can be expected.<sup>1</sup> If the proposed identification proves to be correct, it would afford another example of the tenacity of names clinging to the sites of ancient cities which since many centuries have vanished into oblivion.

<sup>1</sup> The excavator should keep in mind that according to the *Mahāmāyūrī* the local Yakṣa of Ujjihāna was called Vakula.



## A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi

By J. C. TAVADIA

THE Pahlavi text presented here has already been published, summarized, and translated (once with and once without transcription).<sup>1</sup> Its contents cannot be said to be of great value, since no new light is thrown on the main theme—the advent of Shah Vahrām after the end of the Zaratušt-millennium. Yet the text deserves to be treated again, if only for the fact, hitherto unnoticed, that it is a poem with rhyme. This fact must be welcomed for several reasons: firstly, as being of interest in itself; secondly as providing fresh material for the general study of prosody in pre-Islamic times; and finally as affording valuable help for the correct interpretation of the text.

I first called the piece an “elegy” because of its grave and melancholy tone, but the term “ballad” would be equally appropriate. Although no specimens have come down to us, it is certain that under the Sasanians popular ballads existed, which are supposed to provide, together with the official chronicle, the basis of the later epic. Their nature may be surmised from the present piece, although it itself is admittedly a late work, as a reference to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs shows. There are also traces of N.Pers. usage in the vocabulary, and even some Arabic words.

The poetical form, which I noticed a short while ago when reading the text for the first time, is of unusual character for a Pahlavi text. The opening instantly strikes one as having peculiarities in word-order, and as being rhythmic, like a song; the following lines are not only similar, but rhyme with the first line. The same rhyme is used throughout the poem’s thirty lines, those lines in which it is lacking being easily recognized, on solid grounds, as corrupt. The text thus shares with a small fragment brought to light by Henning<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *The Pahlavi Texts* . . . ed. . . . Jamasp Asana ii, p. 160 f.; B. T. Anklesaria’s introduction to this work, p. 52; Dastur M. Jamasp Asa in *Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume* . . . ed. . . . Modi, p. 75 f.; H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, p. 195 f. The text is simple enough, yet there have been great divergences in the translations, to which I refer in special instances. One of the common difficulties in Pahlavi studies, which is met with here, is the problem of how properly to divide and analyse the sentences.

<sup>2</sup> See *BSOAS.*, 1950, xiii/3, p. 647 f. The so-called fragment occurs at the end of a text rightly described as a sermon; mark the words of address at the beginning,

a more developed rhyme-scheme than has previously been known in M.Pers. poetry, in which so far only accidental rhymes and assonances have been observed.<sup>1</sup> The deliberate use of rhyme might therefore lead one to suspect a late date, a suspicion which in the case of our poem would be confirmed by the other evidence. But for the poem studied by Henning (which also rhymes throughout on the syllable *-ān*) there is no evidence, either in content or language, for a late date; indeed, the use of *χ<sup>u</sup>atāyān* in the sense of "lords" points to a Sasanian origin. This piece of evidence is too small to be conclusive; but it is probably wise not to be hasty in deciding the question of N.Pers. or Arabic influence, for which the metre should also be examined.<sup>2</sup> Even in the poem we have now under consideration, there is the possibility that, despite its neologisms and its mixed character, the author may, in the matter of rhyme, be following older Zoroastrian rather than Islamic models. Leaving this question open, let us turn to the text itself.<sup>3</sup>

## TEXT

- 1 kaδ bavāt      ku<sup>1</sup> paδak-ē āyēt      hač hindūkān,  
ku<sup>1</sup> "mat<sup>2</sup> ān ī      šāh vahrām      hač dūt[ak ī] kayān;
- 2 ku<sup>3</sup> pīl hast hazār,      apar sarān<sup>4</sup> hast pīlpān,  
ku<sup>3</sup> ārāstak<sup>4a</sup> drafš dārēt      pat aδvēm ī husravān,
- 3 .....<sup>5</sup>  
ku<sup>6</sup> pēš-laškar barēnd      pat spāh-sardārān"! —

and also in § 13. The lines were probably composed by the preacher himself, as the opening word *dārēm* . . . "I have . . ." indicates; and they form a suitable conclusion to the sermon, especially to what immediately precedes them on the vanity of youth and life. May I remark here that in 5b *abērūh šud hēnd* probably means "they have become wanderers"? cf. N.Pers. *bī-rāh šudan*; in 6a one can read with TD and JU *vēnē* instead of *dīd* and take the rest with what follows; and for the last word *āsān*, "facile thing", we require a different reading (?) and meaning to suit the context: "why not consider the world as an inn and the body as—(?)". Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World*, p. 236, suggests *ast* "hostel, inn"; but the rhyme is against this reading, even if it could be otherwise maintained.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Tavadia, *Indo-Iranian Studies*, i, p. 90; and *Draxt Asōrīk* (often).

<sup>2</sup> This I have left aside in considering the present text. The piece might be improved by adopting at least a fixed number of syllables, but even this I have not attempted. It is easy, however, to mark one or two caesuras in each line, as has been done here, and this is sufficient for a sung ballad. The last line is very short, but the manner of recitation may have compensated for this.

<sup>3</sup> The transcription is in conformity with the common custom of representing M.Pers. in its "second-century pronunciation", although a system closer to the later Pāzand would perhaps be more suitable. Under it the first line, for instance, would read thus: *kay bavād      ku paig-ē āyēd      aš hindū(g)ān*.

- 4 mart ī 7 basīr<sup>8</sup> apāyēt kartan zīrak targamān,  
kē<sup>1</sup> šavēt [ut] bē gōβēt pat hindūkān :
- 5 ku<sup>1</sup> “ ēmā če dīt hač dast<sup>9</sup> ī tāčikān !  
apar ēvak grōh dēn nizār kart ut bē ōžat šāhān.<sup>10</sup>
- 6 ēmā hač ēr, avēšān čigōn dēv[ān],<sup>11</sup>  
ut dēn dārēnd [pat ēč (?)],<sup>12</sup> čigōn sak χvarēnd nān.
- 7 bē stat hēnd pātaχšāhih ī hač husravān,  
nē pat hunar, nē pat martīh, bē pat . . .<sup>13</sup>
- 8 bē stat hēnd, kunēnd aβsōs ut riyahrīh . . .  
.....
- 9 bē stat hēnd<sup>14</sup> pat stahmb hač martōmān  
žan ut χvāstak, gāh<sup>15</sup> ī širēn, bāγ bōdastān.
- 10 gazītak apar nihāt hēnd, bē baχt hēnd apar sarān ;  
apāč aslik<sup>16</sup> χvāst hēnd sāk ī garān.
- 11 bē nikīr ku<sup>1</sup> čand vat aβgand ān druž pat ēn gēhān,  
ku<sup>1</sup> nēst vattar hač avē — ? —<sup>17</sup> gēhān ! ” —
- 12 “ hač ēmā bē āyēt ān šāh vahrām,  
ī varčāvand, hač dūtak [ī] kayān.
- 13 bē āβarēm kēn ī tāčikān,  
čigōn rōtastahm āβurt — ? —<sup>18</sup> kēn ī gēhān.
- 14 ašān mazgitihā frōt hilēm, bē nišānēm ātaχšān ;  
uzdēsčārihā bē kanēm ut pāk kunēm hač gēhān.
- 15 tāk avēn<sup>19</sup> šavēnd druž višūtakān  
h a č ē n g ē h ā n . ”

## TRANSLATION

- 1 When may it be that a courier comes from India,  
(And says) that : “ The Shah Vahrām from the family of the  
Kay-s has come,<sup>20</sup>
- 2 That<sup>21</sup> there are a thousand elephants, upon their heads are  
elephant keepers,  
That<sup>21</sup> he holds the raised<sup>4a</sup> standard in the manner of the  
Husravs,<sup>22</sup>
- 3 .....  
That<sup>21</sup> the advance-guard<sup>23</sup> is led by the army-chiefs ! ” —
- 4 An intelligent man should be made (our) clever<sup>24</sup> interpreter,  
Who<sup>25</sup> may go and speak to the Indians :
- 5 Namely, “ What have we seen from the hand<sup>26</sup> of the Arabs !  
For the unique people<sup>27</sup> they ruined<sup>28</sup> the Religion and  
killed the kings.

- 6 We are from the Aryan (stock), they are like the Dēv-s ;  
And they hold the Religion [as nothing (?)],<sup>12</sup> eat the bread  
like dogs.
- 7 They have taken away the sovereignty from the Husravs,<sup>22</sup>  
Not by skill, nor by manliness, but by . . . <sup>29</sup>
- 8 They have taken it away (and) make mockery and scorn . . .  
.....
- 9 They have taken away by force from men  
(Their) wives and wealth,<sup>30</sup> sweet places,<sup>31</sup> parks and gardens.
- 10 Capitation-tax they have imposed, they have bestowed it upon  
(their own) chieftains ; <sup>31a</sup>  
....., <sup>32</sup> they have demanded a heavy tribute.
- 11 Consider how much evil that Druž has cast upon this world,  
So that nothing is worse than that — ? — <sup>33</sup> world ! ” —
- 12 “ From <sup>34</sup> us shall come that Shah Vahrām,  
The Glorious, from the family of the Kay-s.
- 13 We will bring vengeance on the Arabs,  
As Rōtastahm brought vengeance — ? — <sup>35</sup> on the (whole)  
world.
- 14 Their mosques we will cast down, we will set up fires,  
(Their) idol-temples we will dig down and blot <sup>36</sup> them out  
from the world,
- 15 So that “ nihil ” shall be the miscreations of the Druž  
From this world.”

## COMMENTARY

(1) For *ku* as well as *kē* the MSS. give throughout the ideogram 'MT for *ka* (or *kā* ; Bailey transcribes it as *kaδ*, but I prefer to retain this transcription for its proper ideogram only, 'YMT, which occurs here as the first word). The ed. retains 'MT and Bailey transcribes in the same way, but I have varied my transcription according to the requirements of the context. Elsewhere confusion between the ideograms is to be attributed to the influence upon the scribes of the equivocal N.Pers. *ki*. Here, because of the constant use of one ideogram only, I attribute the mistake to the author himself and reckon it among the N.Pers. usages adopted by him.

(2) Perhaps for *āyēt*, with which *mat* is often and easily confused when ideograms are used.

(3) See nn. 1 and 21.



(4) The ed., with MSS., adds *sar*; but DP also repeats (*ut*) *apar* before *sar*, one may therefore regard also *sar* as a simple dittography. One may adopt *ut* in the text.

(4a) *ārastak* occurs also in the main text on this subject together with, and therefore in the sense of, *ul dāšt* and *aβrāstak* (Vyt. 3. 17, 19, 20, 22); hence it should mean "raised" or "uplifted"; or one may take it in the more usual sense of "adorned, decorated", with reference to the designs on Sasanian banners, including the *drafš ī kāvyān*, for which see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (1st ed.), 205 ff., 497 ff.

(5) See n. 6.

(6) This sentence is not introduced by 'MT i.e. *ku* (or *kē-š* "whose", see n. 21); but since the subject-matter forms part of the direct speech, we should expect it. Its absence suggests that the first line of the couplet has been omitted with it, rather than the second line which it would introduce.

(7) Thus instead of *ē* "one"; see n. 8.

(8) Anklesaria's comparison with Ar. *bašīr* "discerning, clear-sighted, intelligent" is better than Bailey's with Ar. *bašīr*, of which neither the pronunciation, nor the meaning "a messenger of good news" (cf. also *bišārat* "prophetic vision") is suitable here. Hence *ī* has been read instead of *ē* (see n. 7). If *bašīr* could be taken simply to mean "messenger", then Bailey's comparison might be preferable. In that case the term would have to be taken in apposition to *zīrak targamān*, and *ē* could be retained. If one follows Anklesaria, however, then *zīrak* "clever, intelligent", seems redundant. Possibly this is the original word, and *bašīr* was written beside it only as a gloss. It would be strange had the author been unable in the first place to think of an Iranian word to express this ordinary meaning. Perhaps *bašīr* is a corruption of an Iranian word containing *vīr* "intellect".

(9) Ed. *dašt* "desert" for which see n. 26.

(10) All add *šāh*; but there is no MS. authority for this, see n. 9-10 of the ed. In MK, as in its copy JJ, the word must have been crossed out. Then although *šāhān šāh* is the title of the Persian kings, the rhyme in *-ān* requires a full stop at *šāhān*. For the same reason the following *ī*, whereby a scribe may have been tempted to connect *šāhān* with LNH, *ēmā*, must be omitted. With *ēmā* "we" a new sentence begins, a fact which requires the omission of the



following *ut* (a word commonly inserted by scribal error). Bailey by an oversight omits this sentence and connects *čigōn sak* of the next sentence with *sāhān sāh*. The Dastur's attempt to construe *hač ēr . . . nān bē stat hēnd* is also to be rejected, the more readily because it ignores the verse-form and rhyme.

(11) For *dēv* read *dēvān* or *dēv dān* to restore the rhyme.

(12) Some words signifying contempt, etc. are needed here to complete the sense and the verse-line.

(13) After *pat* "by" some noun is needed to complete the sense and supply the rhyme; very probably it is preserved in a corrupt form in DP, see n. 14 of the ed. Yet clearly something must be missing in DP also, since we lack here not only the end of 7b, with its rhyme, but a whole line of 8. If one simply reads, with all other editors, *aβsōs ut riyahrīh* after *pat* in 7b, then the rhyme is lost (that between *martīh* and *riyahrīh* is not a proper substitute), and the sense is not quite satisfactory: "but through mockery and scorn" does not provide a proper antithesis for "not through skill and manliness". At the most one might render *aβsōs* by its recorded N.Pers. meaning of "tyranny or oppression" for *afsōs* and ignore the rest.

(14) After *hēnd* the ed. adds, with some MSS., *gīrēnd* (expressed with the same ideogram as *kunēnd* in the previous addition of DP; see n. 13 here); but I take this as a gloss on *bē stat hēnd*. The repetition of this phrase (in 7, 8, and 9) is no objection to the soundness of the text; indeed, it may well be considered as a rhetorical adornment.

(15) Ed. *χ<sup>v</sup>āstakīhā*, but *χ<sup>v</sup>āstak* "wealth" in the pl. is very unusual, and probably wrong. *-īhā* may well be a corruption of *gāh* "place", which suits the context. By this change we get a much better rhythm, with the first caesura after *χ<sup>v</sup>āstak*.

(16) *-l-* is distinguished by a diacritical mark; the other letters are ambiguous, but all take the word to be Ar. *aṣṭī*, see n. 32.

(17) *nntn*, which the Dastur reads as Ar. *naud*, "tottering, agitated"; and Bailey as *vat* "ill".

(18) *drz*, for which the Dastur gives "1,000 times" i.e. *dah sad*; but for this *hazār* would be more natural. Bailey suggests *gurz*: "R. bore the club", which is less likely.

(19) In FrP. 25. 8 this word is treated as an ideogram and explained by *ēčīn* "nihil". Bartholomae, *WZKM*, 25. 259 accepts

this, and moreover objects to the reading *avēn*, which means that he does not, like Junker (p. 91b), consider it as a pseudo-ideogram. But it is noteworthy that Neryosang also reads it *avīn*. Should we say that this reliable authority is for once mistaken, or should we regard the word as an Iranian one of unknown origin? One etymology has been proposed by Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch* ii, 27, but he is silent on whether the word should be regarded as an ideogram or not. In any case, the word means, as has been said above, *nihil*, and is always used with *būtan* "to be", never with *šutan* "to go" as here. This is therefore another case of N.Pers. usage, wherein *šudan* means also "to be". It must be remarked, however, that *šutan* often occurs in this developed sense of "to be" in, for example, *Matikān ī Yavišt ī Friyān*, where one also finds *rād* with the direct object. This phenomenon must be more fully treated on another occasion.

(20) Or "is coming", see n. 2.

(21) If *kē(-š)* is to be read instead of *ku* (see n. 1) these sentences will begin with "Who has . . .", "Who . . .", and "Whose . . .", instead of "That there are . . ." or "That he . . .", and "That the . . ." respectively.

(22) The use of *husravān* in the sense of "kings", especially "Iranian" or "Sasanian kings", may be a neologism. It is not attested in M.Pers., nor is it a likely usage under the Sasanians; but N.Pers. usage may have affected later Pahlavi writings.

(23) "Advance-guard" for *pēš-laškar* occurs in N.Pers. and suits the context perfectly. Bailey connects the words with what goes before, and renders them as "before the army", as do the others; but we must follow the metrical division of the lines.

(24) For "clever", see n. 8.

(25) Or "That he . . ." if *ku* is meant (see n. 1).

(26) Instead of "hand" (*dast*) the author may really have meant "desert" (*dašt*), out of contempt for the Arabs.

(27) "For the unique people" is a suitable rendering of *apar ēvak grōh*, if this phrase is to be retained in 5b, and not connected with 5a, and translated, with Bailey, as "in one multitude". Even if the rendering is not self-evident, it is neither unjustifiable nor far-fetched; for *apar* in the sense of "for, concerning" see DkM 462 = DkS 10, p. 13, § 5 (dealt with in my study on the *Kustik*); for *ēvak* in the sense of "unique" cf. N.Pers. *yak* "noble", and also *yak īzad*, *yakī dīn ī pāk*, where *yak* has the force of "unique" (*Zarātušt Nāma*, ed. Rosenberg, 10, 206); *grōh* occurs frequently in

the meaning "people; class, sect, or community of people". Here of course "Zoroastrians" are meant.

(28) *nizār* generally means "thin, lean, weak, distressed"; but the same term recurs in a similar context in GBd. 216, 9 (*dēn ī māzdēsnān nizārēnūt*), and in the *Zarātūšt Nāma* 1364 one even has the Ar. equivalent *lāyar* (*pas īn dīn ī pākīza lāyar šavad*). This shows that the Religion (*dēn*) was personified. For what follows see n. 10. In 6b to "eat like dogs" means to eat unworthily, without religious ceremony or prayer.

(29) For this lacuna and the following one see n. 13.

(30-31) Thus as proposed in n. 15; otherwise simply "sweet possessions".

(31a) Or: "levied it upon (our) chiefs".

(32) *apāč astīk* is doubtful. Perhaps one should read *apāk* for *apāč* "together with the original (fine or sum ?)"; or retaining *apāč* "again and again the . . .". But if *apāč* can really bear a derogatory sense, as given by the Dastur (probably on the authority of Dhabhar), or a negative one, then better "those of low origin" or "ignoble ones" (cf. "of good stock, noble, well-bred" for *ašlī*), although it must then be connected with "chieftains" in 10a. Lastly, *apāč* can be a mistake for *bāz* "tax, tribute", which would form a common pair with *sāk* here as elsewhere, e.g. PT 115, § 3. Bailey, comparing N.Pers. *māl ī ašlī* (not in Steingass) translates the line thus: "They have demanded again the principal, a heavy impost."

(33) For the doubtful word one of the suggestions given in n. 17 above may be accepted, but not Bailey's translation of this line and the next, because of the wrong division of the sentences.

(34) Or "to" since *hač* has this meaning in some late M.Pers. texts; but if the lines are really proffered by the "Indians" as consolation, then "from" is the only possible meaning.

(35) Perhaps "a thousand times" (see n. 18), or lit. "brought a thousand revenges".

(36) cf. N.Pers. *pāk kardan* "to obliterate".

## The Text of the *Dharmasamuccaya*

By D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

OF the *Dharmasamuccaya*, a collection of stanzas from the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra* and the only part of that Sūtra known to survive in Sanskrit, the first five chapters were published in 1946 by the late Mr. Lin Li-Kouang<sup>1</sup> from a modern Devanāgarī transcription of a presumably still extant twelfth-century Nepalese MS.<sup>2</sup> From this deeply corrupt source (how far the corruptions derive from the original and how far from the copy I cannot say) it would be impossible to construct anything like a satisfactory text were it not for the existence of a Tibetan version of the Sūtra in the Kanjur. The relevant verses in this and in two out of three extant Chinese versions were extracted by Lin Li-Kouang from their prose environment and accompany the Sanskrit in his edition. But even with these aids many uncertainties remain. For the Tibetans were evidently working from a text which had already suffered some deterioration and their renderings must be used with more than ordinary circumspection. Of the two published Chinese versions the first contains some helpful indications but, as is usually the case, its value as a clue to the original is small in comparison with the more literal Tibetan. The second is so free as to be nearly useless.

Lin Li-Kouang's work has been praised *a laudatis viris* and I have no wish to deal with it harshly. It is enough to say that textual criticism was not his forte and that the text he printed, which of necessity contained a large amount of conjecture, is not only unsatisfactory in detail but misleading in the impression it conveys of the language and more especially, the versification of the original. Anyone who tries to relate it, as did Lin himself,<sup>3</sup> to the linguistic and metrical problems of Buddhist Sanskrit without first undertaking a textual reformation will only darken counsel. Admittedly the *Dharmasamuccaya* comes under the heading of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as the term is understood by Professor Franklin Edgerton, whose long-awaited Grammar and Dictionary have just opened a new epoch in this study. But so do the Middle Indic verses of the

<sup>1</sup> In *Annales du Musée Guimet*, no. 53.

<sup>2</sup> See the same author's introductory volume *L'Aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi* (Paris, 1949), pp. 156 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I allude to chapter 4 of *L'Aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi*.

*Mahāvastu* and the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprechā* at one extreme and, at the other, works which are hardly to be distinguished from standard Sanskrit except by vocabulary.<sup>1</sup> Doubt may long persist whether books of the latter type were composed more or less as they now stand, after an approximation to standard Sanskrit had displaced the traditional Middle Indic, or whether (and to what extent) they are the result of Sanskritization applied to Middle Indic originals. The editor of a BHS text with only one defective MS. at his disposal is hardly concerned with that problem; his business is to reconstruct his text in general accordance with the linguistic standard indicated by the healthier parts of his MS. Though Lin's text suggests the contrary, it is my impression that the morphology and versification of the *Dharmasamuccaya* are not far removed from standard Sanskrit, the great majority of the irregularities in his edition being due to demonstrable corruption in his MS. or to faulty conjecture. My own comments and corrections will be arranged in support of this contention; they apply, of course, only to the five chapters hitherto published. Of the rest of the work, which I understand to be in the hands of Professor de Jong of Leiden, I have no knowledge.

Emendation may begin with the Tibetan for which Lin consulted the Narthang edition of the Kanjur. Some of the numerous misprints and corruptions in the resulting text were conjecturally emended by Professor F. W. Thomas in his review published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1947, pp. 446 ff.). The safest mode of revision is to collate another edition, and I have chosen for this purpose the Lhasa Kanjur in the Cambridge University Library which, in contrast with the Narthang, presents a generally sound tradition. With the help of Lin's references to the latter I have compared all the 381 stanzas<sup>2</sup> except nos. 1, 2, 65, 126, 188, and 242, which are absent from his edition, and nos. 76, 177, and 372 which I have failed to find.<sup>3</sup> In the following list of variants I give, first, the reading adopted by Lin (adding in round brackets his report of the Narthang lection where this is not identical), and, second, that of the Lhasa edition; the latter appears

<sup>1</sup> Professor Edgerton includes, as a borderline case, the *Jātakamālā* (*Grammar*, p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> They are scattered through the *Sūtra* which sprawls over four volumes, Lhasa, Mdo ZA, HA, YA, RA. To save space I do not give the page references, but I shall be happy to supply them on inquiry.

<sup>3</sup> I ignore 186 which is a repetition of 175.



preferable in all but the few cases where I have indicated the contrary by enclosing the reference in square brackets. For the sake of convenience I follow Lin's system of Romanization. N = Narthang, L = Lhasa.<sup>1</sup>

[6b. *mi dge/mi dag.*] 9a. *goñ nas* (*g* — N)/L confirms. 10c. *byis/gyis*. 11c. *psa/pa*. 12a. *zin/ziñ*. 12d. L too has *las* but *lus* (Thomas) is clearly right. 16–17. These two stanzas, missing in N, are supplied by L: |*sdom la gnas dañ zi ba dañ*||*bla ma mēhod la dga' ba dañ*||*don dañ don med thabs blag* [sic] *ṣes*||*don grub pa ni rtag tu gnas*||*gyo med ṣin tu mkhas pa dañ*||*rtag par yañ ni sñan pa'i naḡ*||*mgon med rnams la sdom brcon ldan*||*don grub pa ni rtag tu gnas*. But 17c does not correspond with the Skt. 19d. *mun pa'i/mun pa*. 20a. *brcon/ržun*. 20c. *gñen/mñen*. [20d. *gñen/mñen*.] 22c. *kyis/kyi*. 24a. *sbar ma/sdar ma*. 24c. *drañ bas/drañ pas*. 24d. *ṣis/ṣes*. 26c. *zla* (*gza' ? N*)/*gza'*. [27c. *gyo/nor*.] 27d. *bržam/ržun*. 29a. *re/ri*. 29b. *rnams/rnam*. 29c. *cha ba/ṣhe ba*. 30b. *yin/min*. 35c. *nas/rab*. 38b. *ṣresu chal/rṣes su chol*. 39d. *na/ni*. 40b. *glogs bcol ba/glags gčod pa* (read *čhol ba ?*). 40c. *baḥi/paḥi*. 41b. *rnom/rnam*. 41c. *rmu/dmu*. 41d. *byas/byos*. 42c. *bsgrub/sgrub*. 43d. *ṣog/'ṣog*. 45c. *grob/grol*. 47a. *ḥknor/ḥkhor*. 47c. L = N, but read *sred* (Thomas). 48a. *rnams/rnam*. 48d. *bsgom/sgom*. [51a. *'ṣug/'dug*.] 52d. L = N. Seemingly read *pa min* or *ma yin* (Thomas). 55a. *mñam/ñan*. 55b. *bsten/brten*. 57d. *mñam/mñan* (read *ñan*). 58b. *pas/pos*. 63a. *yoñs spoñ* (*yoñ bon N*)/*yoñ* (read *yoñs*) *bor*. 63c. *yoñs spoñ* (*yoñ bon N*)/*yoñs bor*. 63d. *nañ/nad*. 66c. *skad/skal*. 67b. *kyis/kyi*. 67d. *'gro* (*'gag ? N*)/*gag* (but read *'ga'*). 68b. *'bruñ par/'byuñ bar*. 70a. *'khyud* (*khyad N*)/*khyer*. 70b. *rgyal/rkyal*. 72c. *khyed/byed*. 72d. *gañ/'ga'*. 73b. *na 'čhal* (*na čhal N*)/*ni čhol*. 74a. *gañ gi/nañ gi* (but read *nad kyi*, as Thomas suggests). 74d. *zes/ṣes*. 78c. *ñe/ñer*. 79c. *'gro ba yi/'das 'gro ba'i*. 80a. *ba'i/pa'i*. 80d. *sgal/sgrol*. 82a. *myur du* (*myur gu N*)/*myu gu*. 83d. *lus su* (— *s su N*)/L confirms. 84b. *gyaṇ/brgyan*. 86a. *rnam spañ/rnams spañs*. 86b. and c. change places. 86d. *'gro la/'grol*. 87c. *zin/bzin*. 88b. *nin/ni*. [91c. *rañ/nañ*.] 92ab. L has for these missing pādas *'dod pas ñoms pa med pa dañ/sred pas kyañ ni dguñs pa yi*. 92cd change places with 96cd. In d L has *'gag pa*, as also in 98d and 103d. 93a. *bsgrub/sgrub*. 95ab. The two pādas printed by Lin do not

<sup>1</sup> The list aims at completeness, except that I do not notice *compendia scripturae* such as *yoñsu*, *ḡgyuro*. The Lhasa regularly has the correct forms *yoñs su*, *ḡgyur ro*, etc.

belong here. Substitute from L 'gro ba'i beon rar bčins na yañ/skyo ba'i dbaṇ du 'gro min pa. 98a. Transfer here, with L, 95b. 101a. bkran . . . byad/bkren . . . byed. 102b. skyo/skyon. 105b. ba/pa. 106c. [byis/byas]. mchuñ/mchuñs. 107c. čher/čhe. [108a. ni/zi.] 108c. legs/loṅs. 113a. ba mar/ma bar. 114d. dga'/'ga'. [115b. bskyed/bskyod.] 117b. bai dhū rya/bai dūrya. 118a. dga'/dgar. 118c. spod/spyod. 118d. nas/pas (read pa?). 120c. phrogs/'phrog. 120d. 'babs/'bab. 121c. ba'i/pa'i. 125a. rlogs/rlog. So in 128a (rlog ste), 129a, 130a, 131a. 129c. nas/nad. [129d. skye/skyo.] 136b. brcon pa/brcon pas. 136d. pa/pa'i. [137c. bag/ṇag.] 138-9. L's order is 138ab, 139a, 138c, 139bcd (cf. Lin, p. 101, n. 5). Like N, L lacks equivalent for Skt. 138d. 139a. bai dhu rya/bai dūrya. 139d. rje/brje. So in 141d, 142d, 143d, 144a. 140c. pad ṇidu/pa ṇid du. 141a. bai dhu rya/bai dūrya. 142a. klu/kluñ. 144a. 'byuñ me/'phyañ mo (right?). [146a. khyim (phrimś or khyimś N)/khrimś. 148a. phrogs/'phrog.] 152a. thad čig/thañ gčig. 152d. bzlog/zlog. [156. L's order is 156ab, 166, 156cd.] 157c. čugs po (čag pa N)/so L. 158a. de/gañ. 159a. po (bo N)/so L. 159b. gzon brtan/gnas brtan. 159d. 'jams/'joms. 160a. [ṇan pa also L, but ldan pa (Lin) seems right.] hoṅs/phoṅs. 160c. spoṅs pa/spoṅ la. 168c. čhuñ (čhub) N/so L. 169a. paszad/byas zad. [173c. me (mi N)/mi. 175b. mthah/mthar.] 176a. skye ba/skyes pa. 178c. skye ba/skyes pa. [179a. bde (de N)/de.] 180b. byas/byos. 180d. gtams/gdams. 181d. čhe/cha. 182c. mos/myos. 183d. dpe byar yod/dper byar yañ. 191a. pa/pa'i. 192a. sgra (skra N)/so L. 195c. 'khyams ('khyam N)/'khyam. 196a. par/pas. 196d. la/las (cf. MS. kuta). 197a. gzigs/gzeṅś (both wrong?). 198c. zad/bzad. 199b. sgril (szel ? N)/sbrel. 202d. gi/go. 204d. min skyob/mi skyob. 209b. myon/myoñ. 209c. rmons/rmoṅś. 210d. phi/phyi. 214b. tab tab/rtab rtab. 214d. che (čhe ? N)/so L. 215a. ṇar/dar. 215b. sog/srog. 216c. ltun/ltuñ. [220d. na/ni.] 223b. 'bral ba ('bras bu N)/so L. 224c. mtha' ni (mtha rin ? N)/so L. 225a. čan/che na. [225d. kyis/kyi.] 226b. 'gal/mgal. 226d. čhur bur/čhu bur. 228b. che (čhen ? N)/che na. 230a. 'dod pa/'dod las. 230b. gyur ba/gyur pa. 230c. 'bab (bab N)/bab. [231d. žig (rig N)/rig.] 232b. 'khyer (kyer N)/khyer. 232d. khyed/khyer. [239a. sgra/sgro.] 239b. ba/pa. 241b. 'dig/'di. 245b. 'bañ/'bad. 246a. 'dab (mdab N)/so L. [249b. rga (dga' N)/dga'. 249d. gži (bži N)/bži.] 251d. gnas mi (ni N) yod pa yin/gnas ni yod ma yin. 252b. bčes/čes. 252c. nas/bas. 252d. thabs (thibś N)/so L. 253d. glos/gros. [254d. gčags/gčegś.] 255c. dog/dag. 256b. bag (bdag N)/so L. dog/dag.

256d. *bde* (*bañ* N)/so L. 'jom/'joms. 257b. *rnams par bral/ram par 'bral*. 257d. 'dre *ba/'dren pa*. 258a. *po* (*bo* N)/so L. 258b. *bog/bag*. 259a. *log pa'i* (*logs pa* N)/*phrogs pa'i*. 260c. 'das *gyur ba/'oñs gyur pa*. 260d. *che* (*chi* ? N)/so L. 261a. *stob dag/stobs dag* (read *dañ* ?). 261b. *bde ba 'di skad čig/bde ba'añ skad čig pa*. 261d. *mig* (*mag* N)/so L. 264a. *nam yañ* (*nam pa'i* N)/*dam pa'i*. 264b. *gyur pa/byuñ ba*. 265b. *srog* (*grog* N)/so L. L reads here |*ji ltar de ni nam* (write *nam*) 'jig pa||srog ni gyo ba skad čig pa||gal te de 'jig gañ gi phyir| etc. Lin omits the first two of these three pādas, but the Skt. is equated by omitting the second and third. 266c. *rab* (*ral* N)/so L. *na/ni*. 268a. L also has *pos. po* ? (Thomas). 268b. *la/pa*. 268c. *skyabs* (*skyab* N)/so L. 268d. *dga'* (*dge* N)/so L. 269d. *čhogs/čhog go*. 270a. *ji ltar 'chi bdag dus* (*dus na* N) 'byuñ *na/'chi bdag dus ni 'byuñ ba na* (*ji ltar* is introductory). 270b. *gañ žig gañ* ('*gra žig 'gar* ? N)/'ga' žig 'gar. 270d. *gañ* ('*gra* ? N)/'ga'. 'gro ('*bra* ? N)/so L. 271c. *ltuñ/lhuñ*. [272d. *pa'i/pa*.] 273c. *ma ni/min*. 276b. *med* (*mod* N)/so L. 278b. *gañ* ('*ga*' or 'gar N)/'ga'. [280b. *rtogs/rtags*.] 282b. *ba rin/bar ni*. 282c. *ba/pa*. 283d. *ba/pa*. 288c. *skal* (*bskal* N)/so L. 289b. *gčon* (*gčal* ? N)/*bčal* (but (*g*)*čon* may be right. Or *čul* ?). 289c. *rtse/rtses*. 289d. *gañ/gar*. 291a. *skyid de ba/skyid de pa*. 291b. *de geo bo* (*da ree mo* ? N)/*dañ ree mo*. 292c. *kyañ/dañ*. 292c. *khro ba* (*khron ma* N)/*khron ma* (cf. 5b). 294c. *bu/bud*. 295a. *phyi* (*byas* N)/*byas* (read *byes*). *khyim* (*byim* ? N)/so L. 296b. *za* (*ba* or *tha* N)/so L. 302a. *gzugs med pa'i khams na lha yañ* (*gzugs med med pa'i lha gañ yañ* N)/*gzugs yod med pa'i lha gañ yañ* (read *gzugs med pa yi* ?). 306b. *khan/khañ*. 308d. *min/med*. 309a. 'cho *ba* (*gyon pa* N)/*gson pa*. 309b. *ču bur* (*chi bur* N)/so L. 309d. *rnams/ram*. 311a. *kyis/kyi*. 'phans/'phans. 311c. *la/ba*. 312a. *room* (*breom* N)/so L. 313d. *od/'od*. 317d. *čad* (*thad* or *thod* N)/so L. *yañ/yiñ*. 319d. *kyañ /kyas* N) *mi rtogs/kyis mi rtogs so*. 325d. *pa/pas*. 326d. *dug* (*dag* N)/so L. 327a. *čan* (*čan* N)/*čan* (the normal form). 'dres (*bras* N)/*bsres*. 328a. 'ig *pa/'jig pa*. 329b. 'bral ('*bras* N)/so L. 332d. *mthoñ 'añ/mthoñ bañ*. 333a. *yiñ ni/yi ni*. 335. L supplies the missing stanza : |*legs byas las ni ma byas dañ||las kyi gnas lugs ma čes pa||sdug bsñal čen po kun 'byuñ bas||phyis ni gduñ bas sreg par byed*. 336a. *ba'i/ba*. 337a. *lha'i/lha yi*. 337b. *yiñ/yi sa*. 338ab. L supplies these missing pādas : *mar nag 'jug pa'i rab 'jig pas||ji ltar mar me rtag 'jig pa*]. 339a. *breig/reig*. 340d. *po/go*. 341a. *byuñ/skye*. 343c. *dag gis 'gor* (*gol* N)/*nag gis grol* (this seems to have nothing to do with the Skt.). 344c. *ma rtag*

(*ma rtog* N)/*mi rtag*. 346a. *sten/bsten*. 346b. *brag/phrag*. 348b. *rzas* (? N)/so L. 351a. *rgyum/rgyun*. 351d. *žes/čes*. 353a. *gčad/gčod*. [353b. 'jig ('jigs N)/'hjigs.] 354d. *la (ma N)/so* L. 356c. *rnams/rnam*. [359c. 'bad par/'bar bar.] 360d. 'go/'gro. 361a. *zlogs/bzlog*. 361b. *zlogs/zlog*. 362a. *zad (mad N)/so* L. 362b. *ltha/tha*. [363a. *bzlog/zlog*.] 363b. *nas (nus ? N)/nus*. 364d. *go (po N)/so* L. 368b. *pa'i igs'j/pa yi 'jigs pa*. 368d. *bzlog/ldog*. 370d. *log (lob ? N)/log*. 373b. *la/las*. 374a. *bgre bar ('gri bar ? N)/'grib par*. 374b. *skye'o/skye bo*. 374d. *sna/yañ*. 376b. *pa/pa'i*. 379b. *bsrañ bar/bsrañ par*. 381c. 'gros (*gos* N)/*gos* L (which does = Skt.). 381d. *da/de*.

I come now to the Sanskrit. Apart from forms such as *vindati* = *vetti*, which though non-classical or semi-classical have epic or other comparable authority, morphological irregularities<sup>1</sup> occur in the following passages (to save space I shall assume that the reader has Lin's edition in front of him) :

6d. The alleged difficulty (see Lin, n. 3) of introducing the equivalent of "they say" without violating metre is not formidable. *ihocur* (Thomas<sup>2</sup>) would do it and so would *ihāhur*, though neither quite accounts for the corruption. However, Lin indicates some doubt about the actual reading of the MS.

17b. °*vākasya* should be °*vākyasya* (or °*vādasya*).

20a. Probably *mṛṣāvākyaṃ hatam satyāḥ* (cf. *bden pa rnams kyis*).

62cd. The irregular *saṃdhi vinirmukto andha* seems authentic.

67d. *pratibhujet* (= °*bhuñjyāt* or °*bhuñjet*) is no improvement on *pratibharet* of the MS. Both violate metre. The solution is pretty certainly *sukhī bharet* in view of *bde ba'i skal ldan* and C<sup>1</sup> which = "gain peace and pleasure" (樂 normally = *sukha*)<sup>3</sup>.

73a. Write °*āvisahyasya* ? But there are other possibilities, e.g. *vidagdhasya* ("cunning").

85a. *ākaraṃ* (Thomas) restores sense and metre but the gender is still abnormal. Lin indeed claims (p. 250, n. 1) that the passage from masculine to neuter is "assez fréquent" in this text, but none of the other four examples (140b, 155a, 241c, 328a) enforces credence. Read, probably, *ākaraḥ*.

89b. For *taṃ* read *tad* (sc. *draviṇam*) ?

<sup>1</sup> For the moment I leave aside abnormal *syntax* ; and I notice nothing which does not appear in Lin's text, as distinct from footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> In the review above mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> = Lin's SU and DS respectively.



117c. Lin's *kṣīyanto* (for MS. *kṣīpanto*) is a *vox nihili*. Substitute *kṣīyate* or *kṣīnam te*?

133d. No need to believe in the conjectural *subhāṣanti*. I am not sure that I understand Thomas' *na saṃbhāvitacetasaḥ* which in any case leaves the MS. rather far behind. *na bhāṣanti satattvataḥ* might serve for a stopgap, but the pāda seems hopeless.

138c. Write *ramyā*, of course.

140b. °*bhāgāni* is obviously right : cf. 119a.

145c. *yena manye* is practically as near the MS. as *yena-m-anyam* ; and if it lacks the recommendations of a saṃdhi consonant and a non-Sanskritic form of *anya*, it has the compensating merit of making sense.

155a. Lin's *apramādam* is presumably another masculine turned neuter ; but why not *apramādaḥ* ? Not that I think either correct. I should rather write *apramādaphalam* following C<sup>1</sup>. Tib. read Thomas' °*padaṃ* (go 'phañ).

162b. I do not believe in *tiryakaṃ*. Perhaps *tiryagaṃ*.

171b. Besides the unattested *vañca* = *vañcana* the irregular metre shows that something is wrong. So do the versions, which evidently read *kāmāḥ* ('*dod rnam*s, 愛 啟) and, on the other hand, guarantee *parama* (*çin tu*, 最 大) ; thus making *kāmāḥ paramavañcakāḥ* a more than plausible solution.

203c. *upetīdam* probably *upaitīdam* (Thomas), though Edgerton quotes *upeti* from the Mahāvastu.

206a. *yatnār* might as well be changed to *yatnād* as to *yatnāt*. But *jantor* (cf. *skye ba*, C<sup>1</sup> 衆 生) is the true reading, if I am not mistaken.

218b. *prāsādair* is not a happy "correction". Or should we suppose a double misprint?

234c. The irregular saṃdhi *tu ṛtau* appears certain, though the reading is conjectural.

237b. I cannot tell what this should be (*vrkṣaupamyamaye bhavē* ??), but nothing compels belief in Lin's saṃdhi consonant.

241c. Tib. = *saṃved-*, but *saṃveg-* of the MS. is confirmed by both Chinese versions. Write *saṃvego na*.

243ab. The metre of *b* would justify suspicion even if *duḥkhā* = *duḥkhāni* could be swallowed. Read *jātir duḥkhā jarā duḥkhā maraṇaṃ duḥkham* ? In *c viśleṣād* should be *viśleṣo* (the *d* arose from the following *duḥ*° and *o* is constantly confused with *ā*) ; *saha*, of course, governs *priyaiś*.

252d. Write °*opāyair*.



323c. Write *bhrāmyante*.

324c. In what language could *acittiyarthe*<sup>1</sup> mean "faute de réflexion"? Possibly *anityam te* should be substituted (for the versions see Lin's note). The metrical irregularity of *sarkhyam* (MS. *sokhyam*) could be removed by writing *sukham*; but long for short in the fifth syllable is not without parallel in this text (see below).

328a. Even if the form *°bhaṅgāni* be allowed the plural seems out of place. Perhaps *bhaṅgo hi*, or *bhaṅgāya*.

333d. Write *naupamyam*.

362a. I do not understand Lin's note. Perhaps *kṣiyante* (= *kṣīyante*) is right but there is no certainty.

Metre fares considerably worse than grammar in Lin's text which contains over eighty metrical faults in its 381 stanzas. I do not include in this category the non-classical *vipulā*  $\underline{\quad} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} / \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ , used freely by Aśvaghoṣa and other Buddhist poets, nor the license of three or four short syllables before the caesura which can be paralleled from Mātrceṭa. Of the remaining irregularities the great majority may be eliminated as due to conjecture or corruption. I should, however, recognize the first three of the following ten types:—

(i) Hiatus at the caesura in 63a, 214a, and 358a. 153a is a doubtful case. Lin's readings are largely conjecture and I should substitute *smṛtiṃ varāṃ praśamsanti yaśā* (cf. *gaṇ 'di*) *maṇasambhavā*.

(ii) Irregular substitution of long for short in the fifth syllable: 12a, 50c, 69c, 191c, 295b, 297a are examples which do not yield readily to emendation. But in others correction is required. Thus:—

79a. Write *manuṣyā manuṣyās* (Thomas).

144a. Lin's exclamatory *parivartanaṃ* is obviously wrong. What *'phyañ mo* (Lhasa, see above) means I am not sure, but it certainly discountenances *lokasya* which in any case is suspect in view of its recurrence in c. *parivartanalolasya* is an easy change.

151c. Write *viprayogānto* (cf. 175c).

156c. Write *saṃsajjē na sukhe tasmād yadicchet sukhān ātmanāḥ* (so Tib.).

246ab. Perhaps *viṣṇujamāne* (loc. abs.) *dayitair mitrasvajana-bāndhavaiḥ*. This restoration of *b* I regard as practically certain (*gñen 'dab* = *svajana* in *Mahāvīyutpatti*). Neither Tib. nor C<sup>1</sup> countenance Lin's implausible *dīnair*.

267a. Retain the MS. readings in this and the two following pādas and render "death comes upon us to destroy, etc."

324c. See above, p. 44.

352a. Neither *bhayopanato* nor Thomas' suggested °nantā corresponds to *ñer khrīd pa'i*. Write °netā.

355a. I can do no more than point out that the long *i* is conjectural and that Tib. ("necessarily suffered") does not support *sattvānām*.

362c. °bhāvi may be retained and the whole pāda taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying *antakaḥ*.

363c. MS. *avaśyam̐bhāvibālavān* may be retained as a *dvandva* or translated with Tib. "possessing inevitable power".

(iii) The irregular *vipulā* ◡◡--/-◡-- in 173a and 196a seems to be genuine though both are conjectural readings. If so these may be viewed as mere slips, not supported by the following eight cases of ◡◡-◡ in the second foot:—

21a. Write, probably, °ātīpātino.

213a. Lin's reading is nonsense. Tib., which inverts the two halves of the śloka, points to *upapattiyuttaro nāśo janasya* (or *jātasya*?).

224a. All that is wrong with MS. °manāyais̐ is the normal confusion of *y* with *p*. *yid du 'oñ ba* = °manāpais̐.

270c. Lin's conjecture is not Sanskrit. Perhaps *na cānugacchaty apy ekaḥ*.

276c. Again Lin fails to print sense. The pāda appears deeply corrupt and I can offer nothing plausible. Tib. = *sahāsvatantram vadanti*, C<sup>1</sup> = "once death arrives there are no companions".

310a. Another *locus desperandus*, I fear. Thomas' *amityākāṭākṣeṇa* improves the metre but he rightly adds a query.

323c. Nothing is gained by imagining that the final *e* of *gagane* is short. Tib. = *gagane sarve* (not *sarvataḥ* or *sarvatra*), which may be right.

325a. This seems beyond certain restoration. *saukhyam yad bhavatīdānīm* is a possible guess.

331c. Here also the reading is conjectural. *na ca vīdanti tad bālā* might do as a stopgap.

Of other metrical irregularities the text of these five chapters may, I think, be purged though the possibility of an occasional lapse is not to be ruled out. They occur as follows:—

(iv) The *vipulā* ◡◡◡◡/◡◡-◡:—

71c. *akhedena* (Thomas) is certain.



277a. Lin's correction is wholly unconvincing even if the metrical defect be ignored. My guess (it is no more) is *asahāyo 'janaḥ sarvo*, "everyone is (really) without companion or retinue" (*sarva* is suggested by C<sup>1</sup> — 切).

(vi) The vipulā --- 〰/〰〰〰 --- :—

88a. I find no sense in Lin's reading and would substitute *duḥkham duḥkhhodayaṃ sarvaṃ*. *sarvaṃ*, reduced to *se* in the MS. by the disappearance of an *akṣara* and the (frequent) confusion of *e* with *anusvāra*, is attested by *kun* and C<sup>1</sup> — 切. Probably continue *duḥkhena parirakṣyate*, "all wealth is sorrow, arises from sorrow, and is preserved with sorrow."

(vii) The vipulā 〰〰 --- 〰/--- 〰〰 --- :—

208c. Lin leaves the MS. far behind. Probably *baddhvā nayisyate 'raśyaṃ* (sc. *mṛtyuḥ*).

312c. *patanti divasāḥ* is more likely to represent *patanti vivaśāḥ* (cf. 314d) than Lin's *patanty avasāḥ*. But *tuṣītāḥ* (Tib. = *tuṣitāḥ*, C<sup>1</sup> = *tuṣtāḥ*) is baffling. Could *tuṣtāḥ* = *tuṣitāḥ* or should we write *tuṣitā yānti*?

380c. *vārayitum* is transcriptionally as well as metrically implausible, but I cannot suggest anything satisfactory.

(viii) 〰〰〰 in the first or third foot :—

27a. The MS. text is meaningless. Write, following Tib. and C<sup>1</sup>, *nītyā jītaṃ tathānyāyāṃ* (or *°ānītir*).

60b. Lin's conjecture has the further metrical drawback of ending the line with three iambs. Perhaps *gurunā* or *gurubhīr varjītasya*.

75d. Write *gacchato*. *ūrdhvaṃ gacchato* = "of a dying man".

107c. *krīḍane* or *krīḍāyāṃ* may replace Lin's *krīḍana*.

108c. Lin's *ramaṇa*<sup>o</sup> is unconvincing on other than prosodical grounds. All the MS. needs is a *visarga*. Write *ramataḥ* ("of him rejoicing").

159c. Why write *pravrajitaṃ* in contempt of metre and Tib. (which ought then to have *rab byuñ*) when *agrasthaṃ* lies to hand?

171b. See above, p. 43.

198b. MS. *narakapā* "guardians of hell" is translatable, but the versions have nothing for "guardian". Nothing is gained metrically by Lin's *narakagā*, nor do I recall this compound elsewhere. *nārakīyā* (cf. 300a) is probably the answer.

211d. *yauvane sahaḥ* is an easy rectification.

226c. Write *tribhavaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ sarvaṃ*; cf. 'dus byas and C<sup>1</sup> 無常法 (cf. 227c).

243b. See p. 43.

256c. One cannot be sure what lies behind the corruption; possibly *nīdhaneśvarapāśo*.

263a. Lin's reading is bad syntax as well as bad verse. Corruption appears to be fairly extensive, for Tib. = something like *jarāpīta-patinā*. Note also that *jāti* is not represented in C<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps *jarāvī-pattipatinā*, if we suppose that *pat(t)i* fell out by haplography and that *jāti* was inserted to fill the line in reminiscence of the familiar *jātijarāmaraṇa*.

294a. *nīrdhanam* (Thomas) is a necessary change but does not mend the metre. Perhaps the anomaly is genuine but it could easily be removed by reading *nīdhanam vādarīdram*.

299b. *kadaryam* keeps closer to the *ductus litterarum* than Lin's *krpaṇam* but still leaves three final iambi. *dhaninam* (nor *ldan*) might be substituted for the conjectural *arthinam*, but "wealthy" does not altogether fit the context which rather requires "liberal"; so C<sup>1</sup> renders "not miserly" and C<sup>2</sup> "prodigal". I should therefore prefer *kadaryam tyāginam*.

321c. Salve the metre by writing *vindanti*, the usual form in this text.

324a. *suciram* may be right; but *sucirād* could replace it, *metri causa*.

371a. *jala°* has the support of Tib. and C<sup>1</sup> but is rather pointless. Is it not an early corruption of *calat*?

372b. Lin's conjecture is hardly Sanskrit. Perhaps *pavanena samāhataḥ*.

(ix) Three or four iambi at the end of the line :—

60b, 243b, and 299b have been dealt with in the last section.

56b. Tib. (c) = *śrutvā duḥkhād vimucyate* which is probably right. Tib. (b) *thos pas* = *śrutvā* which may well have disappeared before *śrutvā* and *tathā* have been added to fill out the line. Note that C<sup>1</sup> has 間 in all four pādas.

64b. The metrical objection to *bhavaty* is strengthened by Tib. which translates *vardhaty* (spel).

101b. Write *mīnasyeva viceṣṭataḥ*, which is nearer the MS. than Lin's text.

123b. *ca* is otiose. Write *na śubham*. Tib. = *ca śubham*. Moreover *tadā* should certainly be changed to *sadā* (rtag tu, 常) and *śubha°* in *a* to *sukha°* (bde la, 樂). We then have sense.

147d. Write *tathāmī* (Thomas) comparing 'di rnam and C<sup>2</sup> 彼.



179d. *akṛtārthena tapyate* is a better supplement than Lin's. But I suspect that *med* in Tib. conceals *mes* and that the missing pāda was something like *akṛtārthāgninārdyate*.

266d. Lin's °*balena* hardly fits *rab brcon pas*. °*yogena* ?

270b. Lin's conjectures have no show of plausibility to cloak their metrical ugliness. Write *na kaścīt kasya cit sakhā* in conformity with C<sup>1</sup> and Tib., save that the latter translates a corrupt *sukham*.

312b. °*sukha*° seems right, °*mukhya*° is certainly wrong.

322b. Write *druto bhavati* and, in *a*, *varṣapāto*.

326b. Probably *pracchannaṃ naiva* (cf. *mthoñ ba min*, C<sup>1</sup> 不覺).

347b. Write *pramādābhoga*°.

349b. Write *vināśanīyatā* (cf. *ñes par*).

366d. Probably *sthitayo* (*gnas pa rnam*s) *nāśahetavaḥ*.

372d. *anītyo bhāgavarjitāḥ* would be nearer Tib. which does not refer to "la jouissance".

378b. Write *vaṃśacchāyāpi* ("family series") ?

(x) Irregularities in the fourth foot :—

22a. See under (v).

59d. *budhāḥ* (Thomas) is supported by C<sup>1</sup> 智者; but the verse still halts. Perhaps *daridram āhus tam budhāḥ*. Tib. = *daridram āhus tam prabuddhāḥ*.

67d. See above, p. 42.

216d. See under (iv).

303b. *evaṃ* is senseless as well as unmetrical but I do not know how to cure it. *ṇag por*, as Lin remarks, points to *śadā*, an over-violent change. Does the MS. really have *vināśāntā evaṃ* ?

Criticism of Lin's text need not be confined to passages which present anomalies in grammar and versification. I conclude with a list of miscellanea :—

8-9. 9 for the Tibetans must have stood thus: *uttarottara sambandhaḥ karmaṇāṃ sampradiśyate/phalānāṃ api sambandha uttarottara eva saḥ*. And this is sense.

10c. *gyis* (Lhasa, see above) points to *kriyatām*.

20d. Seems hopeless. Tib. = *dveṣo bandhutayā jitam*.

21b. *rku sems* = *stainyam*, which may be right despite the Chinese.

29c. Keep *saṃtarpeṇa*. *cha ba*, the Narthang corruption of *che ba*, misled Lin, who seems to have ignored *chog ces pas*.

40b. Write, after Tib. and C<sup>1</sup>, *cehidraprepsor*.

41d. *byos* (Lhasa, see above) = *sāmyatām*.

43d. *saṃtāne* is a certain and obvious correction.

53a. Tib. = "burnt by the fire of *śruti*". Perhaps, therefore, *śrutiḡvālena* or *śrutyagninā hi*. The context requires *śruti* and C<sup>1</sup> confirms it.

57a. Write °*mānasā* and, with Thomas, change *buddhiḡ* to *śuddhiḡ* (*dag pa*, C<sup>1</sup> 情淨); in *c* write *saṃśuddhi°* (*legs par dag*, C<sup>1</sup> 情淨) for *sadbuddhi°*.

59ab. Write, after Tib., *śrutyādhyah* (or *śrutādhyah*) . . . *abhi-dhīyate*. Both Chinese versions confirm Thomas' °*ādhyah*.

68c. °*saṃtrātā* ?

78c. Better *tan* (sc. *dhanadhānyam*) *nāsam upayāty eva*. *evam* is supported by Tib. but makes poor sense.

81c. *ḡin tu sdug pa* must represent *atirabhasam* and *rtag* (= *sadā*) *myur ba*, whatever is concealed by *saḡānayatī*. But Lin's conjecture may be right none the less.

86b. Write *rajyate* with Thomas. Same corruption in 248d.

86d. Tib. indicates *duḡkkhān* (cf. 87d).

88c. °*ādi*] Write °*āgni* (°*āgnya* Thomas), attested by all the versions.

89b. *taṃ*] Write *tad* (*draviṇam*).

92a. *avitrṣṇasya* is a nonsensical corruption of *avitrṣṭasya* (*ñoms pa med pa*, C<sup>1</sup> 不知足), paralleled in 196b (*avitrṣṇā* for *avitrṣṭā*) and 209b (*vitṣṇāḡ* for *vitṣṭāḡ*).

92b. *dūṣitasya* is transcriptionally tempting (cf. *bhujana* for *durjana* in 94c), though *gduṃs* (see above, p. 39) should represent *tāpitasya* or the like.

95b. *nādvēṣa°*] Write *nodvega°* with C<sup>1</sup> 厭離心.

97c. Tib., as Thomas noted, read *traiḡkālya*. So did C<sup>1</sup> (三時) but C<sup>2</sup> 三世 = *traiḡlokyā*. I cannot decide.

105c. °*sambuddha°* is doubtful. Tib. = °*saṃvṛta°*, C<sup>1</sup> = "lose mind (*buddhi* ?) and lose way", C<sup>2</sup> = "destroy the Good Law" (*naṣṭasaddharmamārgasya* ?).

107a. *ogha* is not easily associated with bathing for pleasure. A better conjecture would be °*onnāsu*, "moist with rivers and streams".

111c. °*vadham* for °*vadhe* is worse than gratuitous.

113a. Write *tad ādi°*.

114cd. For *kṣama°* write, not Lin's absurd *kṣema°*, but *kāma°* (cf. 'dod pa'i, C<sup>1</sup> 谷父). But obscurity remains and the superfluous *ca* is suspect.

117d. Pace Thomas, I think the text is sound. Tib. *rañ* is only a misunderstanding of the last syllable of *patasva*.

118c. Write *caratas te śubhaṃ kṣīṇaṃ*.

119c. There is nothing amiss with *te* = *tvayā*; see my note on Māṭrceta, *Śatapañcāśatka*, 10c.

120c. Write *viḥṛtasya*.

122d. There is nothing wrong with °*bhojibhiḥ* (°*bhogibhiḥ* Thomas).

124c. The change of °*jñāna*° to °*jñānāḥ* is worse than needless.

137. *vinipāte* in *d* is the minimum of change demanded by syntax. The second pāda is desperate. Even if Lin's reading made sense, *kṣayaṃ* for *sprṣṭvā* would not commend itself diplomatically, and Tib., which represents something like *na karmatatparaḥ*, says nothing about exhaustion. *sprhāvaśam upāgataḥ* would make fair sense and is not too far from the MS.; but has no support from the versions.

139b. Write °*mālakāḥ*.

139c. Lin's 'py has no business here. Write *tādṛśā hy*, comparing 142c and 143c.

143c. Probably *avikalāny eva*.

145d. *varitate*] *vedyate* is an improvement recommended by *chor ba ma yin* and C<sup>1</sup> 受.

146b. *grhagocare* will not do, nor am I convinced by Thomas' °*gahvare*. Perhaps the compound ended in (a)*ntare*.

148a. Write °*āpahṛtāḥ* (*phrogs*).

149a. *dirghamanasāḥ* means "thinking they had a long time ahead of them".

149d. *niṣpratikriyāḥ* (Thomas) is right; cf. *bzlog du med pa yi* and C<sup>1</sup> 無有能救者.

154b. *kaśāyadoṣalam*?

156b. 'srutam] *dhruvam* (Thomas) seems right.

161b. Lin misplaces *ca*. Perhaps *saprajñam mūḍham eva ca*.

163c. Better *ārūpye* 'py *upapannaṃ ca*: for *yañ* is in Tib. and *kham*s (in this pāda) is not.

169a. Tib. suggests *sukṛtakṣayamandasya* (cf. *dman pa* = *manda* in 170c.).

169c. *hi* is not an interrogative particle. Write *kva yāsyasīti*?

170a. Write *tṛṣṇāviśavidaghasya*.

173d. *agnisamñibhāt*?

175a. *sarva*°] Write *sarve* (Thomas).

33295

- 177d. The missing five *akṣaras* were *paricārinah* or *paricārakāh*. *yoṃs su* does not correspond to *vi-* and *'chi* represents *vinaśyanti* in *a*.
- 184a. Write *ete* (*'di dag*) with Thomas.
- 185c. Write *na codvijanti*.
186. This verse is identical with 175.
- 196d. *kuto* is probably right in view of Lhasa *ga las*.
- 197a. Write *sarvathā dhig anāryeyam* with Tib.
- 200cd. Write *kālāgnibhir dagdhā viṣayendhanasamṇibhaiḥ*.
- 203a. Perhaps *sukhe viramamānasya*.
- 209a. Write *°vihārīṇo* (Thomas).
- 209b. Write *vitṛptāḥ* (cf. 92a).
- 214c. No reason to change *satvarā*.
- 215c. The evidence points to *naśyanti* (?) *saṃpadaḥ sarvā*. Note that Tib. translates *sarvā*, not *sarvadā*.
- 219c. *°virato* = "anéanti" will hardly do. *°vigato* would be better but Tib. and C<sup>1</sup> both render "burnt". Perhaps *ḍīpito*?
- 220b. MS. *hana* represents *phena°* (*dbu ba*, C<sup>1</sup> 水沫), not *kṣaṇe*; for the corruption cf. 194a, 227a *hena*.
- 222a. Write *°śārīra°* (Thomas).
- 225b. Write *°cetasām*.
- 225c. *durdharam* for *navdham* (?) is diplomatically unattractive. Moreover, how are we to account for *ṣes* in Tib. and 知 in C<sup>1</sup>? Best, I suggest, by writing *jānīdhvam*. *mi bzad* then = *param* which otherwise goes without equivalent. *ṣes kyis* (*kyi* Lhasa) seems to be an error for *ṣes gyis*.
- 227b. Write *°saṃstaram* (Thomas).
- 230a. For *bhūta* write, probably, *bhuktaṃ* rather than *bhūta°*. Tib. has no equivalent.
- 230c. Write *°kāle* as in 235a, 270a; so too in 335c.
- 234b. Write *āgatam*.
- 238a. Nothing is gained by changing *varṣa* to *varṣam*.
- 238b. Probably *ākāśe*.
- 241a. I find no meaning in Lin's *caike*. Tib. read *caite* (*'di dag*), but a substantive seems to be required for the purpose of comparison with *tṛṣṇayā mohitās*, so as to bring the śloka into line with its neighbours. *caḍḍāḥ* ("sheep") has occurred to me as a possibility.
- 242a. Perhaps *mahāsaukhyah* (adj.); but *yathā yathā* in *b* seems doubtful.
- 247a. *āpatāntam* is dark to me. Tib. may have read *āsannam tam* (cf. C<sup>1</sup> 至). Possibly, then, *āsannāntān*. Or *upasarpan*?

248d. *rakṣadhvaṃ*] Write *rajyadhvaṃ* (cf. on 86b).

249ab. Write *saṃśleṣe yāti viśleṣo yauvane ca sadā jarā* (so Tib.).

254a. *yadā* appears to be the reading of Tib. but makes no sense. Write *yathā* (C<sup>1</sup> 如) and *janmaitat* (*skye ba 'di dag*) in c; cf. the next śloka.

256a. *yeṣāṃ*] Tib. *de dag* and C<sup>1</sup> 此 points to *teṣāṃ*.

259b. Write *°āpahatāḥ* (Lhasa *phrogs pa'i*).

264b. *°saṃbhavam*? Cf. Lhasa *legs byun ba*.

268c. Write *nānyat trāṇam*.

271d. *evam*] Tib. = *etan*, which is probably correct. Cf. also C<sup>1</sup> 此.

273d. Write *cyavanam tan* (*'čhi pho de*)?

274a. The true reading appears to be *maraṇam na tathā duḥkham*. Tib. = *maranāntam tathā*, but the negative is represented in C<sup>1</sup>b. MS. *cyavanna* must have arisen from c, where correct *°cyavanam* to *°cyavane* (sc. *duḥkham saṃprajāyate*).

275b. I make nothing of *prayogena*, though Tib. supports it. C<sup>1</sup>, however, renders *saṃsāreṇa* (輪轉). *viyogena*?

278ab. Write, with Thomas, *svajanasyehe trātā*. For *iha* cf. Tib. *'dir*. Tib. translates both *bhrātā* and *trātā* apparently, but C<sup>1</sup> confirms the latter.

278d. Divide *yathā janāḥ*, "even one's own kin are like strangers."

280c. Perhaps *vyasane prāpte* or *vyasanaprāptāḥ*.

281ab. Probably retain *vaḥ* and write *°bhayaṃ* in both pādas.

282c. Perhaps write *sarvaṃ* (Thomas) and retain *devakṛtam*: "all pleasure performed (enjoyed) by the gods." *saukhyam* in a can hardly stand. Perhaps *sadācruḥṣam*.

285b. Write *maranāya saḥ* (the MS. reading with *visarga*) and translate "he is destined to death": for the dative cf. 283c *devāḥ patanabhāvāya*. Tib., as Lin noted, = *maranāyāsaḥ*.

286b. *°opamā* of the versions is right, of course.

287d. *pratyakṣam* may be right despite Tib. Thomas' *prasabham* is metrically unlikely.

290d. Write *nityaṃ rāga°*.

291a. Write *duḥkṣhitam vāpi*.

291b. One expects a compound meaning "in the prime of youth" and Tib. *rtse mo* suggests *agreṣṭhayauvanam*, which is sufficiently close to the MS.

300c. Write *nivṛttabalotsāho* which is practically what the MS.



provides and what Tib. translates. So apparently C<sup>1</sup> 不 休 (the following character is illegible to me).

301c. *hy apratibalo* (Thomas) is certain here and in 302b: cf. *phyir ldog mi nus pa'i* and *phyir bzlog stobs med pa'i* and C<sup>2</sup>.

302a. Having determined that MS. *ārūṣyeṣu* represents *ārūpya-dhātu* Lin first forces *khamṣ na* on the Tibetan in reliance upon his own Sanskrit; and then bolsters up the latter with "les versions *ārūpyadhātu*" [sic]. As a matter of fact only C<sup>1</sup> has anything for *dhātu* (界) and this is no doubt mere amplification. *ārūpyeṣu* (i.e. *ārūpyalokeṣu*) is the simplest solution.

305b. This seems hopeless.

305c. *ca taṃ* is perhaps nearer *cittaṃ* than *ceto*.

315a. Write *karmakālam*.

316b. *satām iṣṭaṃ* does not convince. Following Tib. I should prefer *savarīṣṭhamahodayam*.

317a. *svargasya* (Thomas) is probably right. It exactly represents Tib., but C<sup>1</sup> read *sarvasya*.

320b. Write °*saṃkṣaye* ("when one's *karma* is exhausted").

323b. Perhaps *anyonyaparibṛṃhitāḥ*. In any case the meaning must be "embraced, caught up with one another".

324d. Tib. and C<sup>1</sup> render *devatāḥ* (cf. 368d).

329c. *sukhaṃ ca jīvitam sarvaṃ* is not Sanskrit for "tout bonheur et toute vie"; and *jīvitam parivarjayet* is strange counsel. Tib. = "the happiness of all life" or "of everything living", so perhaps write *jīvinām*. But *ca* remains awkward. *jīvitasya sukhaṃ* would be a bolder remedy.

331d. Write *viṣayair* (*gyul rnamṣ kyis*) *vipralobhitāḥ* (or °*lambitāḥ*).

335ab. Lin's readings are barely translatable. Perhaps *kṛtvāpi sukṛtaṃ karma na jñātvā karmaṇaḥ sthitim* ("even one who has performed good *karma*, if he knows not the cessation of *karma* . . ."). In *d* write *paścāttāpena*.

340b. *sarva°*] Write *sarve*.

350c. Perhaps *saṃtrātā*, with *sarvaḥ* for *sarvaṃ* in *a*.

363b. Tib. = *sarvacandamibārhanak* (right?).

367d. *manāg* is not a convincing alteration of *nṛnam* [sic]; *nūnam*, I think, is.

368b. Write *buddhi°* (Tib. *blo yi*) for the ridiculous *buddha°*.

371d. The versions render *devatāḥ*.

379c. *māvilambī* is a *vox nihili*. so °*vilambī*?

# Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel

By A. JOHNS

## INTRODUCTION

ORTHODOXY, as a rule, makes less appeal to the imagination than heresy, and this holds true of seventeenth-century Sumatran Sufism as of mysticism elsewhere. Some of the works of Shamsu'l-Dīn and Hamzah,<sup>1</sup> the foremost exponents of the heterodox pantheistic mysticism of that time, have been published. al-Rānirī, as an accomplished polemist, cuts a colourful figure whose *Tibyān fi ma'rifat al-adyān*<sup>2</sup> has been photographically reproduced. The works of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, of Singkel, apart from Rinkes' thesis<sup>3</sup> and one or two monographs have been comparatively neglected. This neglect is not surprising. His works are largely translations and his favourite subject, the *dhikr* (recitation), does not arouse such a sympathetic interest as the metaphysical speculations of the heterodox which find an echo in form as well as substance in the history of Western thought.

In the *Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf*<sup>4</sup> however—a commentary on two pantheistic lines of Ibn al-'Arabi—we find a work interesting, not only for its contents but for what it reveals of its author's personality. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf was a man of great learning and piety. He was born about 1615 and died about 1693. He studied in Mecca for nineteen years and when he returned home in 1661 had to take lessons in Malay. He was in personal contact with two *khalifah* of the Shattariya order, Aḥmad Kushashi and his successor Mulla Ibrahim, and in this work he refers sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other as his Shaikh. It was from the latter that he received a *licet* to found the Shattariya order in Sumatra, from where it was spread rapidly by his pupils throughout the archipelago, especially Java. His preoccupation with the *dhikr* and translating shows not so much

<sup>1</sup> Shamsu'l-Dīn van Pasai. C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuize; diss. Leiden, 1945.  
De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri. Doorenbox; diss. Leiden, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Leiden Cod. Or. 3291. See also Bijdragen, vol. 104, p. 337 *et seq.*, where van Nieuwenhuize has published photographic reproductions of the same author's *Hall al-Zill* and *Shifā'al-ḥulūb*.

<sup>3</sup> Abdoerrauf van Singkel. Rinkes; diss. Leiden, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> A commentary on these lines also occurs in al-Rānirī's *Jawāhīr al-'ulūm fi kash al-ma'lūm*, Marsden Collection, S.O.A.S. MS. 12151, p. 89 *et seq.* His account, however, is much shorter than that of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, and in quality is decidedly inferior.

an unoriginal mind as a dedication to the spiritual welfare of his people. Like al-Ghazzali after his return to Baghdad he taught not to display his knowledge but to make himself and others better.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf we find a masterly commentary on Ibn al-'Arabi's celebrated lines, interpreting them in an orthodox sense, which is a considerable *tour de force*. It is well constructed and closely reasoned. The writer takes hold of the quasi-Neo-Platonic emanation system so closely associated with the pantheism of Shamsu'l-Dīn, and while retaining even the imagery of the heterodox, gives it an orthodox interpretation. He affirms at once the intuition of the mystics and the rights of orthodoxy, recognizing the incapacity of human words to express adequately the dependence of the world upon God and its existence through Him, and the unspeakable reality of the Divine transcendence.

In the Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf we catch glimpses of a practical charity and spiritual awareness not usually associated with Islam. In the section proving that God and the world are not identical (as against the doctrine of the heterodox) 'Abd al-Ra'ūf quotes an alleged tradition: "If you remember Him, He will remember you," thus abandoning primitive Islam's strict notion of predestination in favour of the possibility of co-operation between grace and nature implied in this tradition. This is interesting, for here we find a representative of orthodoxy accepting freedom of the will, though in an anonymous collection of tracts,<sup>2</sup> possibly attributable to one of Shamsu'l-Dīn's pupils, we find exactly the opposite: "Do what you will for every one is directed to what was created for him." And this latter tradition is canonical, whereas the former apparently is not.

We find a similar spirit in 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's citation: "Do not judge what your brother says as evil if you can put a good construction on it." His condemnation of the polemics of al-Rānirī is unequivocal: "It is dangerous to accuse another of *kufṛ*. If you do so and it is true, why waste words on it, and if it is not true, the accusation will turn back upon yourself."<sup>3</sup>

Four manuscripts which contain the Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf in whole or

<sup>1</sup> *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazzali*, Montgomery Watt, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Marsden Collection, S.O.A.S. MS. 11648.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 135: If . . . you are correct in your opinion, thank God for it (*sc.* your condition) and do not corrupt it by calumniating people and ruining their reputations, for that is the greatest of vices.

in part have been made available to me by Dr. Voorhoeve for this edition,<sup>1</sup> viz. :—

A. Breda Ethn. Mus. 10061 F.f. 79b–84b, which contains the section of the work dealing with the four grades of Tauḥīd.

C. Leiden Cod. Or. 7243 f. 51a–68b (Supp. Cat. Van Ronkel No. 331), complete but badly written, corrupt in places, and with many haplographs.

D. Cod. Or. 7351 (Supp. Cat. Van Ronkel No. 749), containing five and a half pages of the first part of the work.

E. Cod. Or. 7643, pp. 124–161 (Supp. Cat. Van Ronkel No. 332), an excellent text, with the end missing.

My edition depends principally on C. and E. Since C., from its many imperfections, is not sufficient basis for an edition I omit five sections for which C. is the only available text. These are sections (*fa'edah*) describing (1) the institution of the *dhikr*. The author relates how the prophet instructed 'Alī in it, and this is supported by traditions almost certainly apocryphal. (2) The various kinds of *dhikr*. The two primary divisions are into the *dhikr sirrī* (silent) and the *dhikr jahrī* (voiced): Rinkes has given a full account of these. (3) Traditions recounting the blessings to be obtained through recitation of the *dhikr*. (4) The wiles of Satan to ensnare the believer. The author has a word against those who claim it possible outwardly to break the law yet inwardly remain close to God. (5) The enemies of the faithful which are the world, the devil, the untamed will, and the flesh. The only sure protection against them is the *dhikr*. All these topics have been dealt with by the author elsewhere and are not essential to the argument. The *Khatimah* is given in full (although C. is the only available text) to round off the edition.

E. is nearly perfect, and for a Malay manuscript is excellent, although in one or two places C. has the better reading. Moreover E. was possibly written during the author's lifetime, for another piece in the same MS. (corrected, perhaps by the author) is dated A.H. 1098.<sup>2</sup>

The text is not only interesting to students of Indonesian Islam.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Voorhoeve: *Bajān Tadjalli, gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdurrauf van Singkel*. *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 85, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Voorhoeve, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–15.

Explanation of brackets :—

(	)	Haplograph in text.
[	]	Reading from different MS.
<	>	Spurious words.

Its author's apprenticeship in Mecca and close association with the leaders of the Shattariya order reflect the importance of Aceh as a Muslim trading centre after the fall of Malacca and illustrate the close cultural contact between the periphery and centre of the Muslim world. The work thus provides another instance of the homogeneity of Islam. Because it shows Malay scholarship at its best and is interesting in its own right I have given a full translation of the part of the text edited. My especial thanks are due to Dr. Voorhoeve for ungrudging help and advice in the preparation of the text, and to Professor Drewes, who revised the translation with me, to its very great advantage.

### DAḤĀ'IK AL ḤURŪF

'Abd al-Rā'ūf of Singkel, raḍiya'llāhu 'anhu

*Bismillāhi'l-Rahmāni'l-Rahīm. Al-ḥamdu li'llāhi'l-lādhī 'alima nafsahu waṣifātaḥu wa'l-ashyā'a mujmalatan, wakāna 'ilmuhu bihā 'alā sabīli'l-ijmāli waḥdataḥu, fahiya'l-ḥaḳīkatu'l-Muḥammadiyya :* segala puji bagi Allah yang telah mengetahuī diri-nya dan segala sifat-nya dan segala perkara yang maujud pada hal-nya mujmal, dan ada-lah pengetahuan-nya akan dia atas jalan ijmal itu mertabat waḥdat-nya, maka waḥdat-nya itu-lah hakikat Muhamadiat. *Wa 'alimahā mufaṣṣalatan wakāna 'ilmuhu bihā 'alā sabīli'l-tafṣīl waḥidiyyataḥu, wa hiya'l-ḥaḳīkatu'l-insāniyya :* dan yang mengetahuī dia pada hal mufassal dan ada-lah pengetahuan-nya akan dia atas jalan tafsil itu mertabat waḥidiat-nya dan waḥidiat itu-lah hakikat (C. 51a) insaniat. *Waṭamasahā bi'ahadiyyatihi fa ṣārat fi'l-shuhūdi min haithu'l-tamsu fihā 'ayna'l-huwiyya, wahiya 'l-dhātu'l-muṭlaqa* (E. 126) *al-ghaibiyya :* dan yang menghapuskan ia akan dia dengan ahadiat-nya, maka jadi-lah ia pada pandang daripada pēhak hapus pada ahadiat itu keadaan huwiat, dan huwiat itu-lah pada istilah kaum, dzat yang mutlak yang ghaib. *Falaṣat al-ashyā'u bi'aymin walā biḡhairin, ḥakadhā mā ashāra bihi fi'l-nuṣuṣi'l-kur'āniyya wa'l-aḥādīthi'l-ṣaḥīḥa al-nabawiyya :* maka tiada segala perkara itu keadaan Hak Ta'ala dan tiada lain daripada-nya pun, demikian-lah yang telah di-isharatkan akan dia dalam beberapa nukil kuran dan beberapa segala hadith nabi yang sahih. *Wa'l-ṣalātu wa'l-salāmu 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin khairi'l-bariyya, wa 'alā ālihi waṣaḥbihi nujūmi'al-hudā liman salaka bi'llāhi* <sup>1</sup> *wali'llāhi maslaka'l-Aḥmadiyya.* Dan rahmat Allah dan

<sup>1</sup> Following Malay translation. Original reading : wa'llah.



salam-nya atas penghulu kita Muhammad yang sa-baik<sup>2</sup> manusia dan atas segala keluarga-nya dan segala sahabat-nya yang upama bintang tujuan bagi barang siapa yang menjalan dengan tolong Allah, dan karna Allah jalan yang di-bangsakan kepada nabi kita Muhammad s.a.w. (E. 127) *Wa ba'du* ada pun kemudian dari itu maka ketahuī oleh-mu, hai yang menjalani jalan Allah! bahawa sa-nya ada-lah bagi kaum Sufi itu beberapa istilah tiada mengetahuī dia melainkan yang ia daripada jenis merēka itu jua. Dan barang siapa mengetahuī dia, neschaya patut-lah ia memutala'ahkan segala kitab karangan merēka itu, dan barang siapa tiada mengetahuī dia, neschaya tiada-lah harus bagi-nya yang demikian itu. Kata Shaikh Muhyi'l-Din ibn al-'Arabi r.a.'a: "*Nahnu kaumun tuharramu mu'tala'atu kutubinā*," erti-nya: Bahawa ada-lah kami suatu kaum yang haram memutala'ahkan segala kitab kami, ya'ni apabila tiada ia tahu akan segala istilah merēka itu. Maka sa-yogianya-lah jangan di-mudah-mudahkan segala perkataan merēka itu (C. 51b), karna kata merēka itu saperti kata Tuhan merēka itu. Maka sa-tengah daripada segala kata merēka itu mutashabihat, maka barang siapa mengambil ma'na-nya saperti ma'na-nya yang ma'ruf (E. 128) pada antara segala ahl al-zahir neschaya jadi kafir ia. Maka apabila tiada kita mengetahuī akan istilah merēka itu, hendak-lah kita serahkan kata merēka itu kepada diri merēka itu jua, dan jangan kita munkir akan dia. Firman Allah ta'ala: "*Waman ya'min bi'llāhi yahdi qalbahu*,"<sup>1</sup> erti-nya: Barang siapa perchaya akan Allah, neschaya di-tunjoki-nya<sup>2</sup> hati-nya. Dan demikian lagi, barang siapa perchaya akan kata ahlu'llah, neschaya di-tunjoki Allah ia akan ma'na kata merēka itu. Maka pertama derajat itu *īmān*, kemudian maka derajat *ikān*.

Bermula sa-tengah daripada segala istilah merēka itu *Hurūf 'aliyāt*: maka di-kehendaki merēka itu dengan dia segala *a'yān kā'ināt* daripada pēhak ta'yin<sup>3</sup> pada mertabat<sup>4</sup> wahdat, dan ada-lah sakalian ka'inat itu di-sana di-namaī akan dia *shu'ūn dhāt* yang tiada sah dalam-nya takaththur. Dan *hakā'ik ghaibiyah*<sup>5</sup> pun nama-nya pada sa-tengah karangan merēka itu, dan sa-tengah daripada-nya *dhurū a'lā'l-kulal*. Maka di-kehendaki merēka itu

<sup>1</sup> Qur. 64: 11.

<sup>2</sup> C.: di-tunjoki Allah akan hati-nya.

<sup>3</sup> C.: ta'ayyun.

<sup>4</sup> C.: E. altered by a later hand to: m.r.t.k.b.t.

<sup>5</sup> D.: ghaib.

dengan dia <sup>1</sup> di-sini ta'ayyun awwal, dan wahdat pun nama-nya, dan sa-tengah daripada-nya huwīat; maka di-kehendaki merēka itu dengan dia dhat daripada pēhak ghaib-nya, dan huwīat itu kinayat daripada ahadiat Hak Ta'ala. Ada pun ahadiat itu pada istilah yang mengarang Tuhfah, maka ia-itu mertabat la ta'ayyun nama-nya, ia-itu kunhi dhat. Dan wahdat itu mertabat ta'ayyun awwal nama-nya, ia-itu hakikat Muhammadiat; dan wahidiat itu mertabat ta'ayyun thanī nama-nya, ia-itu hakikat insaniat. Dan terkadang di-namaī pula akan wahdat itu ahadiat karna ia barzakh, ya'ni perantaraan antara ahadiat dan wahidiat. Maka tiap-tiap yang mengantaraī itu bertemu kesudah-sudahan <sup>2</sup> pēhak-nya dengan yang di-antaraī-nya, dan daripada pēhak itu-lah dapat di-namaī wahdat itu ahadiat.

Maka ada-lah di-upamakan olēh Shaikh kita pada sa-tengah daripada segala karangan-nya, bahawa ahadiat (E. 130) itu upama *tirs*, ya'ni kertas yang lapang ini, tiada ada dalam-nya sa-suatu (C. 52a) kayd jua pun 'Dan wahdat itu upama nuktah yang dalam *tirs* ini. Dan wahidiat itu upama alif atau lain-nya daripada segala huruf yang nyata ia daripada nuktah. Maka ada-lah segala huruf <sup>3</sup> itu kesempurnaan dan kenyataan nuktah jua, bukan ia daripada pēhak ta'ayyun dan bukan lain daripada-nya daripada pēhak wujud. Dan ada-lah nuktah itu tiada di-luar *tirs* dan ada-lah ia wahdat; maka sakalian huruf itu dalam-nya mujmal dan ada-lah segala huruf itu kathrat, maka <sup>4</sup> nyata nuktah itu pada <sup>5</sup> tiap-tiap sa-suatu daripada-nya dengan sa-kira-kira penerimaan-nya. Bermula apabila hasil-lah bagi sa-sa-orang memandang wahdat dalam kathrat dan kathrat dalam wahdat, neschaya ada-lah ia berolēh pangkat yang tinggi.

Dan lagi pula di-upamakan olēh Shaikh kita dengan suatu upama akan menghampirkan kapada paham kita saperti (E. 131) dhihn kita: maka tatkala sunyi ia daripada menta'akkulkan sa-suatu, maka ada-lah ia upama la ta'ayyun, dan tatkala ia memulaī menta'akkulkan dia, maka ada-lah ia upama ta'ayyun awwal, dan tatkala lanjut-lah ia kapada pēhak yang di-kehendaki,<sup>6</sup> ada-lah ia upama ta'ayyun thani. Maka ini-lah akhir kenyataan<sup>7</sup>-nya sa-tengah daripada segala istilah merēka itu serta dua mithal yang

<sup>1</sup> C. : *dhurā*.

<sup>2</sup> D. breaks off.

<sup>3</sup> C. : om.

<sup>7</sup> C. E. : kenyata-nya.

<sup>2</sup> C. : no duplication.

<sup>3</sup> C. : + ia-itu.

<sup>6</sup> C. + daripada-nya maka.

di-upamakan olēh Shaikh kita karna menghampirkan kapada paham kita supaya kita ketahuī akan perbēdzaan antara la ta'ayyun dan ta'ayyun awwal dan ta'ayyun thani yang di-namaī olēh sa-tengah merēka itu dengan ahadiat, wahdat, wahidiat itu.

Bermula maksud <sup>1</sup> menyatakan segala istilah yang telah tersebut itu, supaya memudahkan bagi orang yang berkehendak kapada mengetahui ma'na dua bait daripada sha'ir karangan Shaikh Muhy al-Din ibn al-'Arabi yang tersebut dalam kitab *Manāzil al-Insāniyya* itu, demikian bunyi-nya :—

*Kunnā hurūfan'aliyātīn lam nukal*

*Muta'allikatin fī dhurā a'lā'l-kulal*

*Ana anta fīhi wa nahnu anta wa anta hū*

*Wa'l-kullu fī hū hū, fasal 'amman wasal,*<sup>2</sup>

erti-nya : Telah ada kita sakalian beberapa huruf yang amat tinggi, belum pai lagi di-jadikan (C. 52b) akan kita dengan firman “ kun ”, dan ada-lah kita muta'allik dengan segala hal kita, dan ada-lah yang demikian itu dalam kepala-kepala segala bukit, ya'ni kemunchak-nya. Aku engkau dalam-nya, dan kami engkau, dan engkau Ia, dan sakalian pada huwa itu Ia jua — maka tanya olēh-mu orang yang wasal. Maka di-kehendaki olēh Shaikh dengan kata-nya : “ Telah ada kita sakalian beberapa huruf yang amat tinggi, belum pai lagi di-jadikan akan kita ” itu, ya'ni telah ada kita pada azal beberapa haka'ik ghaibiyat yang thabit sakalian dalam hadra t'ilmu Hakk ta'ala, [belum pai lagi kita di-jadikan],<sup>3</sup> dan belum pai lagi muta'allik dengan kita kaul'ijād, ya'ni kun. Dan di-kehendaki dengan (E. 133) kata-nya : “ dan ada-lah kita muta'allik dengan segala hal kita'itu, ya'ni ada-lah kita sakalian masing2 muta'allik dengan segala hal kita dan segala hukum kita dan segala rupa kita. Maka bahawa sa-nya bagi tiap2 <sup>4</sup> maujud itu ada mahiyat-nya dan ada hal-nya dan ada mertabat-nya dan ada hukum-nya, dan ada-lah sakalian itu azaliyat, ya'ni kadim. Dan di-kehendaki dengan kata-nya : “ dan ada-lah yang demikian dalam kepala kepala <sup>5</sup> segala bukit ” itu, ya'ni ta'ayyun awwal yang di-namaī akan dia wahdat pada istilah kaum. Dan di-kehendaki dengan kata-nya : “ aku engkau dalam-nya dan kami engkau dan engkau ia ” itu, ya'ni daripada pēhak tiada bēdza sa-tengah-nya daripada sa-tengah-nya pada mertabat itu, tetapi aku itu aku jua, dan engkau itu engkau jua. *Mithāl bilā tashbīh* : saperti (E. 134)

<sup>1</sup> C. + pada.      <sup>2</sup> Metre : kāmīl. *Manāzil al-Insāniyya* not in Brockelmann.

<sup>3</sup> C. : Dittography in E.

<sup>4</sup> C. + yang.

<sup>5</sup> C. : om.

ayēr sa-titēk di-gugurkan ka-dalam laut, maka tatkala<sup>1</sup> tiada-lah kita dapat membēdzakan dia daripada laut, maka dapat kita kata ayēr itu laut dan laut itu ayēr, tetapi laut itu laut jua dan ayēr itu ayēr jua, tiada dapat bertukar<sup>2</sup>, kerana kata merēka itu : “ *Al-ḥakā'iku lā tanḳalibu*, ” erti-nya : segala haka'ik itu tiada dapat bertukar. Dan demikian lagi, tatkala tiada-lah kita ingat akan ayēr sa-titēk itu sebab hairan (C. 53a) kita daripada memandang laut, maka tatkala itu dapat kita kata sakalian itu laut. Dan di-kehendaki dengan kata-nya : “ dan sakalian pada huwa ia jua ” itu, ya'ni ada-lah sakalian-nya pada mertabat ahadiat daripada pēhak tamas dalam-nya ia jua, kerana tiada menerima di-sana lain daripada nama huwa, dan ia-lah di-namaī hadrat “ *hā shai ma'ahu* ” dan segala hadrat yang di-bawah-nya di-namaī hadrat “ *Wahuwa* (E. 135) *ma'akum ainamā kuntum* ”.<sup>3</sup> Kata Shaikh kita dalam<sup>4</sup> *Ṣūrat al-Sa'adat*<sup>5</sup> pada mensharahkan kata<sup>6</sup> ini, demikian bunyi-nya : “ *yushūru, — raḥimahu'llāhū, — ila'l-ḥurūfi hunāka, ay ba'da tajāwuzi'l-dhurwati wa'l-kullati'l-latī hiya muntahā ta'ayyun al-'ilmi wa tamayizihi bi'l-ḥurūfi wa'l-asmā'i takūnu fīhi huwa*, ” erti-nya : di-isharatkan olēh musannif, di-kasēhani Allah ta'ala jua kira-nya akan dia, kapada segala huruf di-sana, erti-nya kemudian daripada melalūi kemunchak dan kepala bukit yang ia kesudah-sudahan<sup>6</sup> ta'ayyun dan kesudah-sudahan tamyiz dengan segala huruf dan asma ada-lah sekalian huruf itu dalam-nya Ia jua. Dan di-kehendaki dengan kata-nya : “ maka tanya olēh-mu orang wasil ” itu, ya'ni apabila kau-kehendaki mengetahui yang demikian itu, maka tanya olēh-mu orang yang sampai kapada pengetahuan itu; maka apabila kau-tanya akan dia, neschaya di-beri-nya jawab (E. 136) akan dikau daripada yang demikian itu. *Wa'llāhū a'lam*.

Bermula hasil ma'na yang dalam dua bait itu bahawa ada-lah kita sakalian pada ta'ayyun awwal yang ia hadrat 'ilmu ijmalī itu, haka'ik ghaibiyah nama-nya, dan shu'un dhatīyyah pun nama-nya, tiada bēdza sa-tengah-nya daripada sa-tengah-nya pada pēhak ijmal-nya. Dan ada-lah shu'un itu pada hadrat ta'ayyun thani yang ia hadrat 'ilmu tafsīlī<sup>7</sup> a'yan thabitah nama-nya. Maka pada hadrat itu bēdza sa-tengah-nya daripada sa-tengah-nya maka bumi dengan rupa bumi-nya dan langit dengan rupa langit, dan binatang dengan rupa binatang-nya dan manusia dengan rupa manusia-nya

<sup>1</sup> C. + itu.<sup>2</sup> Qur., 57 : 4.<sup>3</sup> C. + al-kitab.<sup>4</sup> Unidentified.<sup>5</sup> C. + shaikh.<sup>6</sup> C. : no duplication.<sup>7</sup> C. : tafsīl.



dan jin dan rupa jin-nya dan mala'ikat dengan rupa mala'ikat-nya dan lain-nya dari itu pun masing-masing dengan kelakuan-nya yang tertentu dengan dia, pada hal tiada-lah (C. 53b) dapat kata<sup>1</sup> di-sana ya'ni pada hadrat ta'ayyun al-thani (E. 137): "Aku engkau dan kami engkau dan engkau Ia" daripada pēhak ia sudah<sup>2</sup> masing-masing dengan kelakuan-nya yang tertentu dengan dia. Dan ada-lah sakalian itu kadim daripada pēhak ta'alluk 'ilmu kapada-nya, maka apabila naik pandang kita kapada kesudah-sudahan<sup>3</sup> ta'ayyun ya'ni kapada ta'ayyun awwal yang ia hadrat ijmāl itu, neschaya dapat di-kata di-sana: "aku engkau dan kami engkau dan engkau ia dan sakalian itu itu Ia,"<sup>4</sup> daripada pēhak tamas ya'ni hapus dalam-nya segala kuyud. Saperti kata sayyidna 'Ali<sup>5</sup> :—

*Fa'l-kullu hū bilā mirā'  
In utlikaṭ kuyūdūhu  
Wa'l-kullu nahnu yā fatā  
Li'annanā ḥudūdūhu,*

erti-nya: Sakalian-nya itu Ia jua<sup>6</sup> dengan tiada shakjika di-hapuskan segala tambatan-nya dan ta'ayyun-nya; dan sakalian itu kita, hai orang muda,<sup>7</sup> karena kita segala hingga-nya. Kata Shaikh kita dalam kitab<sup>8</sup> *Ifādat al-Rahmāniyya* pada mentafsirkan ma'na kata ini, demikian bunyi-nya: "*Fa'l-kullu Hū min haiṭhi'l-tamsu fīhi wa'nmiḥāu 'l-āthāri 'l-latī hiya muktadā'l-ta'ayyuni, falā ishārata ṭhamma illā lahu lihalākikā fīhi, lā likaunihā šārat huwa li'annahā ḥudūdūhu, waḥudūdūhu mu'tabaratum lahu fī'l-zuhūri wa'l-butūni 'inda ahli'l-'iyyān,*" erti-nya: maka sakalian itu Ia jua daripada (E. 138) pēhak hapus sakalian<sup>9</sup> dalam-nya — ya'ni dalam [huwa yang ia]<sup>10</sup> kinayat daripada ahadiat itu — dan daripada pēhak lenyap dalam-nya segala athar yang ia berkekalan dengan ta'ayyun. Maka tiada-lah isharat di-sana melainkan bagi-nya, dan ada-lah sebab yang demikian itu karna binasa segala athar dalam-nya, tiada karna sakalian pada asal-nya bukan ia Ia, kemudian maka jadi Ia — maka ia-itu muhal, karna sakalian<sup>11</sup> itu segala hingga-nya dan ta'ayyun-nya dan ada-lah segala hingga-

<sup>1</sup> C. : di-kata.

<sup>2</sup> C. : no duplication.

<sup>3</sup> Probably spurious. Metre: Rajaz.

<sup>4</sup> C. E. : mudah.

<sup>5</sup> D. + itu.

<sup>6</sup> C + nya.

<sup>7</sup> D. resumes beginning "pun".

<sup>8</sup> C. : sakalian itu Ia.

<sup>9</sup> C. : juga.

<sup>10</sup> + yang bernama. Unidentified.

<sup>11</sup> D. : huwa itu yang.



nya itu mu'tabar bagi-nya pada zahir dan batin pada orang yang mempunyai pandang yang nyata. Ini-lah akhir kata Shaikh. Maka nyata-lah<sup>1</sup> dengan kata ini bahawa hamba itu hamba jua, dan Tuhan itu Tuhan jua ; tiada dapat hamba itu (C. 54a) menjadi Tuhan, dan Tuhan itu menjadi hamba. Sebab itu-lah di-kata oléh sa-tengah merêka itu : “ *Al-'abdu 'abdun wa'in tarakkā, wa'l-rabbu rabbun, wa'in tanazzala,*” erti-nya : yang hamba itu hamba (E. 139) jua dan jikalau ia naik kapada itlak <yang> sa-kali pun, dan Tuhan itu Tuhan jua, dan jikalau ia turun pada pēhak tajalli pada barang rupa yang di-kehendaki-nya sa-kali pun. Maka tiada-lah harus bagi hamba itu<sup>2</sup> mengata : “ Aku engkau dan kami engkau dan engkau Ia dan sakalian Ia ” atau mengata : “ Yang hamba itu keadaan Tuhan dan Tuhan itu keadaan hamba,” sa-lama ada lagi ia ingat akan diri-nya. Melainkan<sup>3</sup> menghikayatkan hikayat<sup>4</sup> pekerjaan yang pada azal dahulu daripada nyata-nya dan tamyiz-nya pada hadrat itu jua lagi daripada pēhak tamas dalam-nya, maka ia-itu sah di-kata demikian itu.

Bermula jikalau di-kata oléh sa-sa-orang “ Aku engkau atau kami engkau, atau engkau ia, atau sakalian<sup>5</sup> ia ”, serta di-kehendaki-nya dengan kata-nya aku engkau atau kami engkau, atau engkau ia, itu pada azal ya'ni pada ta'ayyun awwal daripada pēhak ijmāl dalam-nya, dan di-kehendaki-nya dengan kata-nya : “ atau sakalian<sup>6</sup> ia ” itu pada (E. 140) ahadiat daripada pēhak tamas dalam-nya maka ia-itu benar. Maka dengan kata ini sa-yogia-nya kita ta'wilkan kata Tuhfah<sup>7</sup> : “ *Wa ammā min haithu'l-hakīkatu, fa'l-kullu huwa 'l-Hakk,*” erti-nya : Ada pun daripada pēhak hakikat, ya'ni asal, maka sakalian itu ia-itu Hakk. Dan jangan di-ambil kapada zahir-nya, kerana zahir-nya tempat tergelinchir segala orang yang'am. Dan jikalau di-kehendaki-nya dengan kata-nya “ aku engkau dan kami engkau ” itu sekarang, kemudian daripada nyata sakalian itu, neschaya tiada-lah benar jikalau kata-nya itu, istimewa pula jikalau<sup>8</sup> ia mengata sakalian<sup>9</sup> Ia. Kata Shaikh Junaid<sup>10</sup> demikian bunyi-nya : “ *Fa'in kāla sha'nun [li sha'in]*”<sup>11</sup> *ākharin ana anta fihā kabla zuhūrinā watamayyuzinā wa ta'ayyuninā bi*

<sup>1</sup> C. : om.<sup>2</sup> C. + yang.<sup>3</sup> C. + nya.<sup>4</sup> *Al-Tuhfa al-mursala ilā'l-Nabi*, by Fadlu'llāh. Cf. Brockelmann, Supp. 11,

p. 617.

<sup>5</sup> C. : Misplaced after mengata in E.<sup>10</sup> C. E. : Junaidi. Cf. Br. S. I 354.<sup>2</sup> D. ends.<sup>4</sup> C. : om.<sup>6</sup> C. + nya.<sup>9</sup> C + nya.<sup>11</sup> C. E. : om.

*ahkāmīnā, faṣadaḳa*," erti-nya : Maka jikalau di-kata olēh suatu sha'n bagi suatu sha'n yang lain : "Aku engkau pada hadrat yang tinggi itu dahulu daripada nyata kita dan dahulu daripada berbēdza-bēdza (E. 141) kita dan dahulu daripada ta'ayyun kita dengan segala hukum kita", maka ia-itu benar kata-nya. "*Wa'in kālat jumla min al-shu'ūni li sha'nin nahnu anta wa anta nahnu, faṣadaḳa*," dan jika di-kata olēh beberapa jumlah daripada segala sha'n bagi suatu sha'n kami dahulu daripada nyata kita kami engkau dan (C. 54b) engkau kami maka sakalian<sup>1</sup> itu benar. *Waba'da 'l-zuhūri wa'l-ta'ayyuni falaisat biṣādīḳatin li'anna li'l-zuhūri hukman wa li'l-butūnī hukman, fahukmu'l-butūni hukmu'l-kumūni, wahukmu'l-zuhūri hukmu'l-wujūd*, dan jika di-kehendaki-nya dengan kata-nya yang demikian itu kemudian daripada nyata-nya dan ta'ayyun-nya, maka tiada sakalian<sup>2</sup> itu benar karna bagi zahir itu suatu hukum dan bagi batin itu suatu hukum, maka hukum batin itu hukum 'adam dan hukum zahir itu hukum wujud. Ini-lah akhir kata Shaikh Junaid<sup>3</sup> raḍiya'llā-lu 'anhu.

Maka dengan kata ini sa-yogia-nya-lah bagi sa-sa-orang jangan (E. 142) ia menyamporkan antara dua hukum itu sa-lama ada lagi ia ingat akan diri-nya karna kata sa-tengah merēka itu : "*Al-kāmil yu'ṭi likulli dhī ḥaḳḳin ḥaḳḳahu wa likulli dhī faḍlin faḍlahu*," erti-nya : Orang yang sempurna itu memberikan bagi tiap-tiap<sup>4</sup> yang empunya hakk itu hakk-nya dan bagi tiap<sup>2</sup> yang empunya kelebēhan itu kelebēhan-nya, ya'ni tiada mahu ia menyamporkan<sup>5</sup> segala pekerjaan yang berlain-lainan saperti menyamporkan hadrat 'ilmu dengan hadrat takwin karena terkadang yang sah pada hadrat 'ilmu itu tiada sah pada hadrat takwin. Saperti sa-orang mengata, bahawa ada-lah 'alam atau segala perkara ini 'ayn al-Hakk, ya'ni keadaan Hakk ia-itu sah pada hadrat ahadiat daripada pēhak tamas dalam-nya jua saperti upama ayēr sa-titēk yang jatuh ka-dalam laut yang telah tersebut itu, dan tiada sah pada hadrat takwin, ya'ni hadrat yang kemudian daripada mengadakan rupa ma'lum pada (E. 143) a'yan kharijiyah ini. Maka nyata-lah bagi kita bēdza antara dua hadrat itu dengan dalil kata ini dan dengan dalil tiada takalluf<sup>6</sup> pada hadrat 'ilmu dan takalluf<sup>7</sup> pada hadrat takwin. Maka tiada-lah harus bagi kita menchamporkan kedua-nya pada

<sup>1</sup> C. + nya.<sup>2</sup> C. + nya.<sup>3</sup> C. E. : Junaidi.<sup>4</sup> C. + sa-orang.<sup>5</sup> C. : Dittography in E.<sup>6</sup> C. : taklif.<sup>7</sup> C. : taklif.

hukum. Kata Shaikh kita : " *Wa'l-khālṭ min da'b<sup>1</sup> al-jāhīlīn bi'llāhi, lā al-'alimīn.*" erti-nya : Bermula yang <sup>2</sup> menyamporkan segala pekerjaan yang berlain-lainan itu sa-tengah daripada 'adat segala orang yang jahil akan Allah tiada segala yang tahu akan Dia.

Upama — *bilā tashbīh* — pada menghimpunkan masa'alāh 'ainiyah dan ghairiyah saperti upama segala pengetahuan yang dalam hati kita. Maka tatkala ia (C. 55a) tetap dengan ijmal-nya <sup>3</sup> lagi hapus dalam hati kita dan tiada-lah kita lihat pada ketika itu melainkan diri kita jua, maka tatkala itu dapat kita kata akan dia (E. 144) 'ayn kita daripada pēhak yang tersebut itu. Dan tatkala kita nyatakan-lah ia dengan menyebut dia atau dengan menyuratkan dia pada loh upama-nya neschaya tiada-lah dapat kita kata akan dia 'ayn kita. Dan lagi pula suatu mithal saperti segala huruf yang dua-puluh dua-lapan itu. Maka tatkala ia terbuni dalam dawat ada-lah ia 'ayn dawat, dan tatkala ia pada hujong kalam maka ada-lah ia 'ayn hujong kalam, dan tatkala ia tersurat <sup>4</sup> dalam loh maka ada-lah ia lain daripada dawat dan lain daripada kalam. Dan lagi pula suatu mithal : saperti segala ranting dan chawang dan segala daun, maka tatkala terkandung sakalian itu dalam biji, daripada pēhak lenyap ta 'ayyun sakalian dalam-nya, maka sakalian <sup>5</sup> itu dapat di-kata akan dia 'ayn biji daripada pēhak yang tersebut itu ; dan tatkala nyata-lah sakalian <sup>6</sup> itu masing-masing dengan ketentuan-nya, maka (E. 145) ia-itu lain daripada biji. Dan jangan di-sangka pada <sup>7</sup> perkataan itu bahawa ada-lah sakalian itu dahulu-nya 'ayn biji kemudian maka berpindah <sup>8</sup> kapada yang lain daripada-nya ; maka yang demikian itu muhal ada-nya, hanya yang biji itu biji jua dan yang ranting dan chawang itu ranting dan chawang jua dan yang daun itu daun jua, jikalau belum pai lagi keluar ia dari biji sa-kali pun.<sup>9</sup> Yang haka'ik itu tiada dapat berchampur dan tiada dapat bertukar <sup>10</sup> hanya yang dapat bertukar itu mithal ya'ni rupa jua. Maka ini-lah tiga mithal yang menghampirkan kapada paham kita pada mengetahui masa'alat 'ainiyat dan ghairiyat itu.

Bermula hasil perkataan ini bahawa alam atau segala perkara ini bukan ia sa-kali-kali keadaan <sup>11</sup> Ḥaḳḳ Ta'ala dan bukan ia lain daripada-nya pun dengan lain yang mustakill <sup>12</sup> sendiri-nya. Kata Shaikh Ṣadr al-Din Kunawī<sup>13</sup> khalifat Shaikh Muhyi'l- (C. 55b)

<sup>1</sup> C. : 'adat.

<sup>2</sup> C. : om.

<sup>3</sup> C. E. : ijmalan.

<sup>4</sup> C. : di-surat.

<sup>5</sup> C. + nya.

<sup>6</sup> C. + nya.

<sup>7</sup> C. : om.

<sup>8</sup> C. + ia.

<sup>9</sup> C. + dan.

<sup>10</sup> C. duplicates.

<sup>11</sup> C. A. : kawan.

<sup>12</sup> C. E. : mustakīl.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Br. G.1, 449.S.1 792/3.

Din ibn al-'Arabi (E. 146) kaddasa'llāh Sirrahumma pada menghikayatkan pandang orang yang sempurna ma'rifat-nya, demikian bunyi-nya: "*Wa-ra'ā nafsahu wakulla shai'in min wajhin ghaira'l-Hakki wamin wajhin sha'nahu wamin wajhin 'aynahu, wa ra'ā'l-Hakka mir'atan yarā fihā tafāsila ahwāli 'aynihi*<sup>1</sup> *kamā yarā 'aynahu mazharan li-wujūdi'l-Hakki, kulla dhālika fī ānin wāhidin,*" erti-nya: Telah di-lihat 'arif diri-nya dan tiap-tiap sa-suatu pada suatu pēhak lain daripada Hakk dan pada suatu pēhak pekerjaan-nya, dari suatu pēhak keadaan-nya, dan di-lihat-nya Hakk ta'ala chermin di-lihat dalam-nya segala tafsil hal diri-nya saperti ia melihat akan<sup>2</sup> diri-nya tempat nyata bagi wujud Hakk ta'ala, maka ada-lah segala pandang yang demikian itu pada suatu masa jua. Maka nyata-lah dengan kata ini bahawa alam atau segala perkara<sup>3</sup> tiada-lah ia 'ayn sa-kali<sup>2</sup> dan tiada ia ghair yang mustakill dan thabit 'ayn dan thabit ghair pun.

Dan ada-lah Hakk ta'ala (E. 147) itu chermin bagi orang yang 'arif, maka di-lihat dalam-nya segala tafsil hal diri-nya; dan ia pun chermin bagi Tuhan-nya, maka Tuhan-nya melihat dalam-nya diri-nya dan segala asma-nya dan segala sifat-nya dengan sa-kira-kira penerimaan-nya, tiada dengan sa-kira-kira Tuhan-nya karna Tuhan-nya itu tiada bagi-nya hingga pada pēhak dhat-nya. Maka sebab itu-lah berubah-ubah tajalli Tuhan-nya dalam-nya sebab berubah-ubah penerimaan-nya dan segala hal-nya saperti upama berubah-ubah rupa dalam chermin itu, sebab berubah-ubah penerimaan chermin jua.

#### TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God—Who knows Himself, His Attributes and all things in general, and this knowledge of them in their generality is His grade of *Wahda*, which is the Reality that is Muhammad; Who knows them in their particularity, and this knowledge of them in particular is His grade of *Wāhidiyya*, which is the Reality of Man. He obliterates them in Himself through His grade of *Ahadiyya*, and they appear identical with His Self (*Huwiyya*), which in Sufi terminology is His Absolute and Hidden Essence. For things are not He nor are they other than He, as many verses of the Quran and canonical traditions of the Prophet show. — And prayer and peace be upon our lord Muhammad, the finest of creation, and upon his

<sup>1</sup> C. E.: 'ayniyat.

<sup>2</sup> C.: om.

<sup>3</sup> C.: + itu.

household and companions, the stars of guidance to those who journey to God, Who has granted us the path of Ahmad.

Know, oh ye who follow the path of God, that the Sufis use several technical terms that only their associates understand. A person who understands these may study their books, but one who does not should leave them alone. As Shaikh Muhyi 'l-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī said : " We are a people whose books are forbidden,"—that is, for a person who does not understand their technical terms. In that case it is better not to use their expressions, for their words are as those of their Lord. Moreover some of these terms of theirs have a double meaning and any one who takes them in the sense that ordinary people (i.e. non-initiates) understand is an unbeliever. If ever we do not understand these terms we should leave them to them (i.e. Sufis), not disavow them, for the Quran says (64 : 11) : " Whoever believes in God, He will guide his heart." And similarly : " If a man believes the words of the Men of God, God will show him their meaning." The first stage is faith (*īmān*), the second certainty (*īkān*).

Among these technical terms is the *Ḥurūf 'Aliyāt*, and they use it to indicate the essences of existents (*a'yān kā'ināt*) regarded as individuated at the grade *Wahda*.

At that grade all existents are called " Predispositions in Essence " (*shu'ūn dhāt*) and it is wrong to assume manifoldness there. In other of the Sufi writings they are known as the " Hidden Realities " or " The Peaks of the Highest Hills ". Here they use these names to designate the first determination also called *Wahda* and by some *Huwiyya*, and by them they mean the Essence considered as hidden, *Huwiyya* being another expression for *Aḥadiyya*. In the terminology of the author of the *Tuḥfa*, however, *Aḥadiyya* is the grade of non-determination, in other words the Innermost Essence ; *Wahda* that of the first determination, which is the Reality that is Muḥammad, and *Wāḥidiyya* that of the second determination, which is the Reality of Man. Sometimes *Wahda* too is called *Aḥadiyya* because it is an intermediary between *Aḥadiyya* and *Wāḥidiyya*, and since anything which acts as an intermediary is in contact with those things between which it functions as an intermediary at its extremities, from this aspect *Wahda* may be called *Aḥadiyya*.

In some of his writings our Shaikh has compared *Aḥadiyya* to a blank sheet of paper without anything written on it, so :         
*Wahda* is represented by a mark upon the paper so :   •   and



*Wāḥidiyya* by an *Alif* or any other letter formed from the mark. Each letter is an expression and fulfilment (of the potentialities) of the mark; it is not it from the standpoint of determination, not other than it from the standpoint of being. This mark, which does not exist apart from the blank sheet, represents *Wahda*, for all letters, however manifold, are combined within it, and it is displayed in each one of them according to its receptivity. When a man is able to contemplate unity in diversity and diversity in unity he has reached a high rank.

Our Shaikh has given another example to make this easier to understand. It is as with our intelligence: When it is not thinking of any particular thing, that corresponds to non-determination; when it begins to think of it, that is the first determination, and when it proceeds still further to what is desired, that is the second determination. This is the end of our Shaikh's explanation of some of the Sufi terms with two examples to help us understand them, and distinguish between non-determination, the first determination and the second determination, which others of them have called *Aḥadiyya*, *Wahda*, and *Wāḥidiyya*.

The intention of explaining these terms is to simplify matters for those who wish to understand the meaning of two verses from Ibn al-'Arabi's poem in his *Kitāb Manāzil al-Insāniyya* which run as follows:—

"We were lofty letters, (yet) unuttered, held latent in the highest peaks of the hills; I am you in Him and we are you, and you are He; and all is He in Him—ask those who have attained."

(The author translates with a gloss: We were lofty letters, not yet brought into existence by the word "be", held latent with our conditions in the highest peaks of the hills . . .)

By: "We were lofty letters, not yet brought into existence," the Shaikh means that in pre-eternity we were hidden realities existing in God's knowledge, as yet unformed, for there had not yet been applied to us the word of creation "be". And by: "We were held in latency with our conditions," he means that we were all, each of us held in latency together with our states, definitions and forms, for every existence has its quiddity (*māhiyya*), states, grade, and definitions, and all these are pre-eternal—i.e. from all eternity. By: "That was so in the highest peaks of the hills," he means the first determination which in Sufi terminology is called *Wahda*; and when he says: "I am you in Him and we are you and you are He," he

means that this is so from the standpoint that things are still undifferentiated one from another at that grade, but that nevertheless I am I and you are you. Here is a simile implying no anthropomorphism : It is like a drop of water that is cast into the sea—when it is impossible for us to distinguish it from the sea, we may say the water is the sea and the sea is the water—yet the sea remains the sea and the drop of water the drop of water, for, as they say, realities cannot be converted. In the same way when we do not think of the drop of water through our awe at the sight of the sea, we may also say all is sea.

When he says : “ All in Him are He,” he means that all, at the grade of *Wahda* regarded as obliterated in Him, is He, for at that grade no other name is applicable to them ; this is also known as the grade “ There is nothing with Him ”, and the grades below it are named “ He is with you wheresoever you are ”.

In his *Sūrat al-Sa'adat* explaining this our Shaikh says : “ The author—may God be merciful to him—is alluding to the letters there which—after they have passed beyond the peaks and crests of the hills which are the limit of the differentiation knowledge can make through letters and names—in Him are He.” And when he says : “ Ask those who have attained,” he means that if you wish to understand this, ask those who have attained this knowledge and they will explain it to you. God knoweth best.

The meaning of these two verses is that when we are at the grade of the first determination, which is that of existence as general ideas, and is known as “ The Hidden Realities ” and “ Predispositions in the Essence ” we are undifferentiated one from another from the standpoint of our generality. But these same Predispositions at the grade of the second determination which is that of particularized knowledge, are called the “ fixed prototypes ” (*a'yān thabīta*), and at that grade differentiation has taken place, so that the earth has its own particular form and so has the sky ; likewise the beasts, man, the jinn, the angels, and the rest of creation, with everything in its own shape at that, and at that grade—i.e. the second determination—we cannot say “ I am you and we are you and you are He ”, as each entity possesses its own determinateness. Yet, when regarded as objects of the Divine Knowledge all is pre-eternal, so that when our gaze rises to the furthest limit of determination, i.e. the first determination which is the grade at which things exist in general, then we may say : “ I am you and we are you and you are He and

all is He," from the standpoint that all determinations are obliterated in Him. As our lord 'Ali said : " And all is He without any doubt when it is freed from its determinations, and all is we, oh youth, for in us the emanation has reached its ultimate goal." In his book *Ifādat al-Rahmāniyya*, in explanation of this our Shaikh says : " And all is He from the standpoint of its obliteration in Him," i.e. in *Huwa*, which is another expression for *Aḥadiyya*, " and from the aspect that the distinguishing features concomitant with the determinations vanish in Him ; there is no allusion there except to Him from the standpoint of their obliteration in Him, not because they become Him—which is impossible—but because they are the final stage in the process of emanation and determination and the discerning know that these His limits are considered as belonging to Him in point of manifestation and hiddenness." This is the end of our Shaikh's words.

From this it is clear that the servant is a servant and the Lord is the Lord, the servant cannot become the Lord nor the Lord a servant. For this reason some of them have said : the servant is a servant, even if he ascends to the absoluteness of God, and the Lord remains the Lord, even if He descends to manifest Himself in whatever form He chooses ; that is why it is not right for the servant to say : " I am you and we are you and you are He and all is He," or to say that the servant is the Lord or the Lord the servant—as long as he retains individual consciousness. It is only when one is speaking of things in pre-eternity before manifestation and differentiation from the standpoint of all considered as obliterated in Him that one is entitled to say this.

If then, anyone says : " I am you," or " We are you ", or " You are He ", or " All is He ", and he means by this that I am you or we are you or you are He in pre-eternity, that is to say at the grade of the first determination because all is contained there in its generality ; and if he means that all is He at the grade of *Aḥadiyya*, as at that grade all being is considered obliterated in Him, that is true. It is in this way that we must interpret the words of the Tuḥfa : " So far as its reality is concerned—i.e. its origin—all is God." Do not take these words literally, for it is literal interpretations that cause mishaps to the indiscriminating. But if when they say " I am you and we are you " they mean it now, when everything has received its proper shape, what they say is plainly wrong, the more so if they say all is He.

Shaikh Junaid says : " Were one condition to say to another : ' I am you at that grade before we were manifested and differentiated and received our proper natures,' that would be true. And were a number of conditions to say to a condition : ' Before our manifestation we were you and you were we,' that would also be true. But if they meant this after manifestation and determination it would not be true for the exterior has its requirements and likewise the interior. Inwardness implies latency (the Malay translation has '*adam*') whereas outwardness implies existence." So ends the statement of Junaid. No one must confuse these two principles as long as he retains individual consciousness, for as some of the Sufis have said : " The Perfect Man fully recognizes the rights and prerogatives of everything." In other words he does not confuse things that differ such as the grades of Divine Knowledge and Creation, for what applies in the case of one does not always apply in the case of the other. For example, if a man says that the world and all created things are God—i.e. His Being—this would be true at the grade of *Aḥadiyya* from the standpoint of their obliteration in Him in the same way as the drop of water fallen into the sea, that was mentioned earlier, but it would not be true at the grade of created things when the individual external entities (*a'yān khārijiyah*) have been shaped into the forms we know. This may suffice to prove the difference between these two modes of existence, without forcing the meaning of either of them. We should not confuse them in regard to their definitions, for as our Shaikh says : " The confusing of things that differ is a custom of those who are ignorant of God not of those who know Him."

A simile implying no anthropomorphism, to illustrate the problem of identity and otherness can be found in the knowledge within us. When it is still knowledge in general merged in our heart and we see nothing at that moment other than ourself, then we can say it is ourself—from this standpoint. But when we express it by speaking about it or writing down—on a tablet for instance, then we cannot say this. Another illustration may be taken from the twenty-eight letters of the alphabet. When they are hidden in ink they are ink ; when they are on the point of a pen—they are the point of the pen, but when they are written upon a tablet they are different both from the ink and the pen. And here is yet another illustration taken from twigs, branches, and leaves. When they are all enclosed within a seed, we may say from the standpoint of no determination yet

existing that they are indeed the seed, but when they are displayed, each with its proper form they are other than it. Nevertheless do not imagine from this that at one time these were the seed and subsequently became different from it—that is absurd. The seed is a seed, the twigs and branches, twigs and branches, and the leaves leaves even before they have emerged from the seed. Realities cannot be commingled or converted, it is only metaphors, i.e. appearances that alter. Such are three illustrations to help us understand the problem of identity and otherness.

It follows from this that the world and these created things are not God and are not other than Him in the sense that they have an independent existence. Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn, a successor of Shaikh Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī—may God bless both their souls—in explaining the vision of those who have obtained a perfect gnosis says : “ The gnostic sees himself and all things from various aspects : as different from God, as a state of the Divine Essence and as God Himself. And he sees God as a mirror in which he sees reflected in detail his own states as he sees himself a manifestation of God's being—and all this at one and the same time.” It is clear from this that the world and existing things are neither identical (with God) nor do they possess an independent otherness, but rather they are both identical and other.

Almighty God is a mirror to the mystic who sees in Him in detail his own conditions, and the mystic a mirror to his Lord who sees in him Himself and His names and attributes to the extent of the receptivity of the mirror, not to the extent of His Self, for from the standpoint of His Essence He is infinite. Therefore His manifestation of Himself in the mirror varies because its receptivity varies and all His attributes as it were vary in the mirror owing to its varying receptivity.

*(To be continued)*



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Central Asia

HISTORY OF THE NATION OF THE ARCHERS (THE MONGOLS). Edited and translated by R. P. BLAKE and R. N. FRYE; with MONGOLIAN NAMES AND TERMS IN (the same) by F. W. CLEAVES. 10 × 6½. The Harvard University Press, 1954. 28s. (Reprinted from H.J.A.S., vol. xii, pp. 269-443, with 4 pp. Addenda.)

This work will be welcomed, not only because of its own merits, which are great, but also because of its implications for the future. We who are interested in Turkish or Mongol studies always have an uneasy feeling that there are great stores of valuable material locked away in Armenian literature, but in practice we have to learn so many other languages more important for our studies that it is just not worth while learning Armenian as well. The great merit of this book is that it supplies us with an important lot of material, while relieving us of the linguistic obligation. The names of the authors are sufficient to guarantee the quality of the work. Let us hope for more doses of the same mixture and especially a new edition of Kirakos. Nearly all the basic editions and translations from Armenian (Brousset, etc.), are over a hundred years old, practically unobtainable, and wildly out of date.

Perhaps a Turcologist may be permitted one small complaint. It cannot sufficiently be emphasized that Turkish and Mongol (I use both terms in a wide sense) are as different from one another as English and Hindustani, perhaps as English and Arabic, that is to say that it has yet to be proved that they have a common ancestor at all; if they have one it is a very long way back. On the other hand Turkish and Mongol speaking tribes were in a state of co-existence together, certainly from the 4th century B.C. onwards and perhaps much longer, so that there may well have been some interchange of vocabulary from a very early period. This process was greatly accelerated by the rise of Chinggis Xan. The technical administrative terminology of the Mongol Governments (and much other vocabulary material) was taken over from the governments they conquered, some of them Turkish-speaking (e.g. the Uyğur), others Mongol-speaking (e.g. the Kara Kitay). *Prima facie*, therefore, names of taxes and the like may be expected to be either Turkish or Mongol by origin; the linguistic problem is primarily

which are which. It goes without saying that such technical terms were used indifferently in both languages; it was not long before Turkish became the official language of the *soi-disant* Mongol Governments. The authors devote rather too much time to recording the occurrence of Mongol words in Turkish (the mention of *kurultay* in the Oğuz Name no more makes it a real Turkish word than the mention of *soviet* in *The Times* makes that a real English one), and too little time to deciding which words are basically Mongol and which Turkish. However they can hardly be blamed for that. On the Turkish side at any rate the material, though abundant, is widely scattered, and really only a specialist can assemble it and separate the chaff, which is abundant (a little of it has got into Prof. Cleaves' notes and gummed up the works), from the wheat, which is not.

On the substance of the History itself, what will most intrigue the modern reader is the bland complacency with which the author records the staggeringly unheroic conduct of the Armenian rulers and people in this period. He describes with equal gusto the frightful sufferings of the Armenians under the Mongol invaders, the glorious exploits of Armenian warriors in the services of the same invaders, and the dashing smash and grab raid, under pagan Mongol auspices, on the City of the Martyrs, which resulted in the involuntary transfer of St. Barnabas's right forearm from the Syrian to the Armenian church.

GERARD CLAUSON.

---

### Far East

THE SIX SCRIPTS, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF CHINESE WRITING. By TAI T'UNG. A Translation by L. C. Hopkins with a memoir of the translator by W. Perceval Yetts, pp. xxviii + 84; illustrations. Cambridge University Press, 1954. 15s.

L. C. Hopkins, a brother of the posthumously celebrated poet, G. M. Hopkins, entered the British Consular Service in China in 1874, and retired with the rank of Consul-General, Tientsin, in 1908. In his prefatory memoir written *con amore*, Prof. Yetts points out that "Hopkins himself was no sinologue in the strict sense of the word, his studies being almost confined to palæography and the spoken language". His private correspondence shows clearly that he was not strongly attracted either to the country or to the people; but "it was the language, particularly the script, which held him

enthralled all the leisure hours of his official career, and afterwards took precedence of everything else". Hopkins saw in archaic script the key to current script, and published his translation of the *Liu shu ku* at Amoy in 1881. The first edition of Tai T'ung's work was printed about A.D. 1320, and Prof. Yetts reproduces a page of this excessively rare edition from the copy in the National Library at Peking. As Hopkins wrote of his author: "Whatever may be thought of the soundness of his views upon the rise and growth of his national writing, they are at any rate marked by clearness, common sense, and consistency; and if they are not correct, at least they are not absurd." Although Tai T'ung's views may not meet with wide acceptance to-day, it was certainly worth reprinting Hopkins's translation, if only because it gives us a traditional Chinese viewpoint on the origin and development of their characters. It is annotated in Hopkins's trenchant and inimitable style, and the memoir by Prof. Yetts strikes just the right note in recalling the interesting personality of one of our Society's staunchest supporters.

C. R. BOXER.

THE BLUE ANNALS. By G. N. ROERICH. Part I (pp. xxi + 397), 1949 and Part II (pp. 1,275), 1953. Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Deb Ther Sñon-po, of hGos Gñon-nu dpal, completed in A.D. 1478, is a principal source for later Tibetan historians and its author is famed for his painstaking endeavour—unusual in Tibet—to establish an exact chronology. It is true he left several major dates in doubt but his work commands respectful admiration; the indications of his sources are valuable; and he gives detailed histories and chronologies of the succession of religious teachers in all the important schools and sects from the time of Atiśa to his own day. Dr. Roerich's scholarly labours in providing this English version and extensive indices for the thousand or so pages of hGos' great book will be welcomed by all students of Tibetan history and religion. Although there may be disagreement on minor points, Dr. Roerich makes a generally appropriate and effective translation of hGos' own frequently terse language and of his varied quotations from other writers. Dr. Roerich's comments and explanations, scattered in parentheses throughout the translation, are useful and to the point. An interesting Introduction includes discussion of the main chronological cruxes. Here, the attribution of the birth of Sroñ Brtsan Sgam-po to A.D. 617 may not be generally accepted. It

implies that Sroñ Brtsan fathered Guñ Sroñ at the age of 16 and that Guñ Sroñ fathered Mañ Sroñ also at 16. This is cutting things too fine; and the tradition that Sroñ Brtsan lived to the age of 82, which would put his birth in A.D. 568/569 and which Dr. Roerich considers to be due to a misapplication of the Mañjusrimūlatantra, although certainly containing difficulties, can be traced back to Sa-Skya Grags-pa Rgyal-Mtshan (1147-1216) who appears to have had access to early Tibetan sources similar to the documents from Tun Huang.

There are 172 pages of Index and it may seem captious to ask for more but a list of religious foundations mentioned in the text would have been helpful.

It is lamentable that the paper, especially in Part II, should be old, wormed, and brittle, and that the binding and stitching should be so poor.

H. E. RICHARDSON.

A SELECTED LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON JAPAN IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND GERMAN. Revised and enlarged edition. Compiled by HUGH BORTON, SERGE ELISSÉEFF, WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD and JOHN C. PELZEL. Cambridge, Mass.; Published by the Harvard University Press for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1954. pp. xi + 272. 9¼ in. by 6¼ in. 40s<sup>h</sup>.

The first edition of this book (1940) was of such value to all interested in Japan that this revised edition has been eagerly awaited. Whereas the first edition contained 842 entries, the present has about 1,800. Though most of the new entries deserve inclusion, the selectiveness of the first edition will be missed by many who will now have to work their way through twice as many items as before. The editors would have been wise to cut out entries obsolete or superseded.

The material is arranged much as before, except that there is a new section, illogically placed and disproportionately large, called "World War II and Occupation, 1941-52". New entries are annotated with the same kind of brief and sensible short comments so effectively used before. The main merit of the new book is its comprehensive coverage of recent publications, at least up to 1950.

There are two serious defects. First, although a book published in the second half of 1954 might well include publications issued up to the end of 1953, it is apparent that the selection of titles was made

about 1950 and that few subsequent works have been added. Secondly, there are abundant errors in the names of authors, titles, and other details, some uncorrected mistakes from the first edition, others freshly committed. A bibliography, more than any other type of book, should be free from inaccuracies.

ERIC B. CEADEL.

---

THE EVOLUTION OF A CHINESE NOVEL: SHUI-HU-CHUAN. By RICHARD GREGG IRWIN. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Series X, Harvard University Press, 1953. pp. ix + 231.

This clear and helpful survey of fairly well-trodden ground contains one important discovery: the chapters on the Wang Ch'ing and T'ien Hu campaigns (which Hu Shih, following Li Chih's "manifest error", thought must have been part of the "original 100-chapter version") were interpolated by booksellers at the end of the 16th century. The killing-off of the book's characters does not begin until the Fang La campaign—a circumstance which seems almost conclusive when it is pointed out but has curiously eluded notice before.

Just why Mr. Irwin should pick on the 120-chapter edition and call it the "definitive" version of the book, I cannot imagine. Because it is the biggest? Chin Sheng-t'an's version is so vastly better that, even if the "old text in seventy chapters" existed only in his own imagination (though Hu Shih was convinced that there was such a text), we should print it, read it, and prefer it above all others. The précis of the 120-chapter version which occupies half of this book should, if it serves no other purpose, at least convince us of that.

In other respects I warmly agree with Mr. Irwin's judgments. How deplorable the translations are! It really is time that someone with the skill, humour, and time gave this novel the sort of translation it deserves.

DAVID HAWKES.

---

LA PHILOSOPHIE MORALE DANS LE NEO-CONFUCIANISME (TCHEOU TOUEN-YI). By CHOW YIH-CHING. Preface by Paul Demiéville. Paris, 1954. pp. xv + 230.

Chou Tun-i (1017-73) is generally regarded as the founder of the Neo-Confucian school which culminated in Chu Hsi (1130-1200).



This work is concerned not with the *Chart of the Supreme Ultimate*, for which Chou Tun-i is best known, but with his *T'ung shu*. A complete translation of the *T'ung shu* is given, and an exposition of its thought praiseworthy for its rejection of the long-standing practice of reading back the ideas of Chu Hsi into the work of his predecessor.

Unfortunately there is carelessness and inaccuracy in detail. The index of proper names in Chinese characters is incomplete and personal and posthumous names are used so indiscriminately that there is no indication that the "Leang Jen-Kong" of p. 20 is the "Leang K'i-tch'ao" of p. 46, or even that the "Hou Hong" and "Hou Wou-fong" of p. 73 are the same person. Except for the works of Chou Tun-i himself and of the pre-Han philosophers, almost all sources are quoted at second hand. The *Études sur le sens des classiques* (*Ching i k'ao*), ascribed to the Sung writer "Yao King-yu" on the authority of Hsü Yü-feng (p. 50 n.), is the work of Chu I-tsun (1629-1709) through which Hsü Yü-feng quoted "Yao" (whose surname, given in this form more than once, should be "Tch'ao"). The essay on "What was the study that Yen Tzū loved?" was not written by Ch'êng Hao (p. 47), but by his brother Ch'êng I, whose posthumous name, I-ch'uan, is given throughout as "Yin-tch'ouan". Hu Hung did not assert that the *Chart of the Supreme Ultimate* came from Shou-yai (p. 48 n); on the contrary, his preface to the *T'ung shu* mentions the tradition that Chou Tun-i received it from Mu Hsiu. The introductory chapters are riddled with such errors; the reader may be recommended to confine his attention to the genuinely useful exposition of the philosophy of the *T'ung shu* from chapter 4 onwards.

A. C. GRAHAM.

DEUX SOPHISTES CHINOIS: HOUEI CHE ET KONG-SOUEN LONG. By IGNACE KOU PAO-KOH. Preface by Paul Masson-Oursel. pp. 163. Paris, 1953 (Bibliothèque de l'institut des hautes études chinoises, vol. viii).

Of the various philosophical schools that flourished in China between 500 and 200 B.C. it is the school of names (*ming chia*) which comes nearest to satisfying the Western demand that philosophy should be based solely on deductive reasoning. The principal "sophists" (*pien ch'ê*) of this school of whom anything is known were Hui Shih (4th century B.C.), whose paradoxes remind one of

those of the Greek sophists, and Kung-sun Lung (3rd century B.C.), to whom is ascribed an essay proving that "A white horse is not a horse". The need to defend common sense against these outrages led the Mohist school to investigate the validity of various kinds of argument by analogy, in four books of the *Mo Tzŭ* which, in spite of their importance, are so corrupt that no one has yet dared to produce a consecutive translation.

Kou Pao-koh provides both text and translation of the whole of the *Kung-sun Lung Tzŭ*, and of the paradoxes ascribed to Hui Shih and other sophists in the *Chuang Tzŭ*, *Hsün Tzŭ*, and *Lieh Tzŭ* (for some reason he omits the explanations of the paradoxes, admittedly not very helpful, given in the last-named work). The translations are accompanied by comprehensive notes, an introductory section on the history of the sophists, and an essay on their thought. The work, if it contains few discoveries, provides a valuable survey of the subject by one fully at home with the recent work of Chinese scholars. It is not the fault of the author that he leaves the impression that of the little which survives of the writings of the sophists only Kung-sun Lung's *Essay on the White Horse* and a few of the paradoxes can yet be interpreted with confidence, and that unless further texts are discovered it is difficult to believe that much progress can be made.

A. C. GRAHAM.

---

JAPAN'S NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA, 1937-45. By F. C. JONES (Royal Institute of International Affairs). Oxford University Press. pp. 498. 38s.

This is a readable account of the far from simple story of Japan's venture in imperialism and her part in World War II. The body of the book amply proves its author's chief conclusion, that Japan's foreign policy "did not represent the steady unfolding of a master-plan . . . devised by a coolly calculating and united band of conspirators." Rather it was the result of a tangle of motives, complicated by the variety of cliques who came into power in Tokyo, each clique with its private aims, but all the leaders in turn strongly affected by Japan's outstanding needs and grudges.

In his last chapter the author makes a statement so true that it ought to be quoted in every modern book of Far East history. "Much has been said and written in condemnation of the policy of

the Democracies, in particular of that of the United States, as having furthered that end (the triumph of Communism in China). But it must not be forgotten that the principal contributor to the victory of Communism in China and to the heightened menace of Communism elsewhere in the Far East was none other than Japan herself."

EMILY HAHN.

---

OFFICIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN, 1368-1549. By WANG YI-T'UNG. Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, nr. IX (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press). pp. xi + 128. 24s.

This subject has been treated in some detail by previous writers, of whom A. Tschepe, S.J., Y. Takekoshi, and Y. S. Kuno are available in European dress, but Mr. Wang's effort is a distinct improvement on those of his predecessors. Unlike Tschepe, he is meticulous in referring to his sources; unlike Takekoshi, he knows how to make a careful and coherent synthesis from them; and his work is more thorough than the corresponding chapters in Kuno's. It is surprising that the Ming dynasty tolerated this official intercourse with Japan for so long. From 1485 onwards, the China coast was being savagely raided by Japanese pirates, Japanese embassy personnel behaved with outrageous insolence on Chinese soil, the system was economically disadvantageous to China, and the amount of "face" gained by the Ming emperors from the arrival of pseudo tribute-bearing (but really commercial) Japanese missions at Peking was exceedingly small. It is a pity that the notes are collected at the end of each chapter, since the work is unlikely to be read by anyone but specialists.

C. R. BOXER.

---

### Near and Middle East

LANDLORD AND PEASANT IN PERSIA: A STUDY OF LAND TENURE AND LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION. By ANN K. S. LAMBTON, O.B.E., Ph.D.(Lond.). Oxford University Press, 1953. pp. xxxi + 459. 42s.

Orientalist works of to-day, like others, tend to reflect our current preoccupations. From one point of view Miss Lambton's book invites comparison with E. G. Browne's *A Year amongst the Persians*, for

both were written by scholars after an extended period of study and travel in Persia. The change of attitude is already shown by the title of the new book. The economic and social questions here discussed are scarcely glanced at in Browne's (in the main) light-hearted classic. The wealth of documentation in ancient as well as the most modern sources, which the present book contains, is likely to make it of permanent value. Notice is taken of important and little-known MSS., e.g. a Teheran copy of the *Jughrāfiyā* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. Over-sights and misprints appear to be few: one notices *Rukh ud-Douleh* for *Rukn ud-Douleh* (p. 16); *Alptigin* apparently for *Sabuktigin* (p. 52); *Quanī* for *Qunī* (p. 217). Glossary and index, though full, are not exhaustive, and the map does not always adequately represent the text (cf. p. 245, *Hāmūn* and *Hirmand*). The rural scene in Persia, as here presented, apparently varies little from age to age (pp. 48, 95, 395). If the picture seems unduly dark, what cannot be doubted is Miss Lambton's love of Persia and the Persians and her desire to set right the abuses which she finds. Her last chapter indicates ways in which she thinks this can and ought to be done.

D. M. DUNLOP.

---

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ISLAM. By SAYED KOTB. Translated from the Arabic by John B. Hardie. pp. viii + 298. American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, 1953.

This is the first of the Council's series of translations from Near Eastern languages—a noble project, from which scholars and general public alike may profit. Though provocative, the book hardly deserves such priority.

In background and method the author is one of the old school, sometimes illogical, often irrelevant, and always biased. He can even believe that women are employed in consulates and newspaper offices because they can obtain results by selling their honour! But he is, at least, passionately sincere. He believes that western materialism is not essentially different from Communism, to which it will inevitably lead. If, then, Islam is to have the spiritual revival she needs, she must shut out western ideas and rely on her own heritage. Social justice in Islam is based on freedom, equality, and the reciprocal responsibility of individuals and communities. Politically Islam demands justice from the ruler, obedience from the ruled, and consultation between the two; but the ruler's authority

is from God and if he departs from the law, obedience is no longer his due. Similarly in economics, though Islam recognizes the right to personal property, the individual is only a steward of his property from society, which in turn takes it as a trust from God. Absolute equality is neither fair nor possible, but differences must never be excessive. These are right-wing principles hedged by left-wing qualifications theologically justified. But how important are the qualifications is shown in Chapter VIII by the proposals for reform: redistribution of wealth, nationalization, health services. True, this is nowadays little more than enlightened conservatism, but in the East conservatism is seldom enlightened.

There are thirty errors of translation in the first six pages. Some of the mistakes are astonishing: "All His teachings were connected with . . ." (p. 3) should read: "He made only passing references to . . .". "He exhorts men to avoid all shameful means of getting money other than begging" (p. 44) should be: "He exhorts men to use other means of getting money rather than begging." "There is nothing similar to . . ." (p. 102) ought to be: "There is no ambiguity in . . .". On page 226 "... who looked forward to a time when they would be able to conquer Islam itself" should read: "... who became believers, professedly, at a time when Islam had already triumphed." These are a few examples from a mighty host.

A. J. M. CRAIG.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE IN UGARITIC LITERATURE (= Pretoria Oriental Series I). By A. VAN SELMS. 163 pp. Luzac and Co., London, 1954. 20s. B

This careful reconstruction of an important aspect of Ugaritic society is based almost exclusively upon native documentary evidence, and more particularly (a) fiscal and commercial documents and (b) mythical texts. Both groups shed only indirect light on the matters at issue. The first group offers incidental indications of status and relationship, the precise significance of which, in the absence so far of strictly juridical texts, cannot be accurately determined. In the second group, while in general the world of the gods may be held to reflect that of men, allowance must be made for epic and mythical features, the gods tend to conform to the ways of the upper classes, and we cannot be sure that the model is a contemporary one and not that of an earlier age. Professor Van Selms is aware of these difficulties and shows good judgment together with



a sound linguistic approach and literary sensitivity. The resultant picture, as might be expected, conforms broadly to the general Canaanite pattern, but the author reminds us that it might be modified by a better knowledge, e.g. of Hurrian usage. In not a few instances he improves upon the interpretation of previous commentators, and the reader's appreciation of these would have been aided had Van Selms added transliterations of the passages discussed to the references at the foot of the page—this could have been done in most cases without adding a line to the text of the book.

A few details may be noted. p. 37—While *k l t t b* is compounded from *t t b* it is too much to say that it cannot include the element *k l t*. p. 40—Van Selms follows his predecessors in treating "suck" and "suckle" as synonyms; for *m š š* use "draw, imbibe". pp. 42-3—The form and context of *t h g r n* are too ambiguous to admit of any inferences. p. 85—The proposal to associate the *k t r t* with Ar. *katūra* and the nom. div. *ka/utrā* (cf. Nab. ('l) *k t r y w*) is attractive. p. 122—"Matriarchate" and the matrilinear systems of relationship must be distinguished. p. 49—Note 33 should refer to p. 38, n. 8. p. 66—Lamps are still carried in various parts of the East before important persons journeying at night.

A. M. HONEYMAN.

ORMAZD ET AHRIMAN, L'AVENTURE DUALISTE DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ.

By J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN. Paris, 1953. pp. 1-153.

This little book offers a useful survey of problems connected with Zoroastrianism. Although its aim is partly to popularize the subject, much thought and reading have gone into its making. The author has considerably changed his views since he wrote his book on the subject in 1948. The religion of the Achæmenians is placed in a more plausible perspective, and the author no longer cares to commit himself with regard to the extent of Zoroaster's own contribution to the religion he preaches. He sees the original mark of Zoroaster's thought largely in the prophet's treatment of the Amēša Spēntas. Here the author is on sound ground. His exposition is less acceptable when he comes to Zoroaster's attitude to certain myths.

Why should the myth of the Ox, as told by Zoroaster, be held to betray an aversion to the myth of Gayomard, especially if to believe this we must first assume that Gayomard's murderer was not

Ahriman, as the legend tells us, but Miθra. Too much is made of Zoroaster's alleged Miθraphobia: that in proscribing the slaughter of cows Zoroaster had in mind a practice of Miθra-worshippers is scarcely supported by the Avestan Miθra's kindly attitude to cows. M. Duchesne-Guillemin is still engaged in playing a game of concealed identities with Zoroaster's deities: Varuna is disguised as Mazdāh, Miθra as Vohu Manah, Indra as Xšaθra, etc. However, such "identifications" preoccupy him less than they used to.

A good deal of the book is devoted to an evaluation of possible Zoroastrian influence on ancient Greek thought, Judaism, and Gnosticism. Here the author is admirably cautious, and only prepared to admit the possibility of Iranian contacts in early forms of Gnosticism. Reading this part of the book one appreciates his remark that at the age of forty he has written one of the books he missed at twenty.

---

ILYA GERSHEVITCH.

INDO-IRANIAN STUDIES I. By J. C. TAVADIA, I (pp. 1-95 + i-iv) and II (pp. i-v + 1-129). Santiniketan, 1950-52.

Dr. Tavadia, who has recently put up a spirited defence of the non-pagan character of the Aməša Spəntas (*ZDMG.*, 1953, 344 *sqq.*), has here presented us with a kind of anthology of his Iranian interests. The first part is written largely for the benefit of Indian students and does not lay any claim to originality, except in the last chapter, where the author attempts to show that part of the text published on pp. 162 *sqq.* of J. M. Jamasp Asana's *Pahlavi Texts*, ii, is written in verse. Recently edited and translated by Ervad M. F. Kanga (*Apar xēm ut xrat i farrox<sup>v</sup> mart*, Bombay, 1953), the text contains many obscurities; but the author's contention, as applied to the few passages he has selected, is acceptable.

The second part is mainly devoted to a detailed study of three Gāthic poems, Y 28, 29, and 30, of which he suggests, on somewhat unconvincing grounds, that the second originally preceded the first. The author's doctrinal exegesis is interesting and reveals a fine feeling of balance, but tends to underrate the frailty of the translation he occasionally adopts: interpretations such as those of *xšvīdēm* Y 29, 7, or *dāt*, *ibid.*, 10, are not likely to engender faith in the meaning he extracts from the corresponding stanzas. But some of his proposals are refreshing and command attention; among them are his understanding of Y 28, 5a-b, and Y 30, 2a, and his

theory of "self-introduction" as applied to the beginning of Y 29. One also sympathizes with the not wholly satisfactory attempt at solving the puzzle of the "Twins" passage, Y 30, 3; basically the author has here reverted to Bartholomae's early views (v. *Arische Forschungen*, ii, 120). Dr. Tavadia concludes his essays with a useful treatment of the four principal Avestan prayers.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH.

### South-East Asia

KONMARA PYA ZAT. By U POK NI. Vol. i, Introduction and Translation. By U HLA PE. 10 × 6. pp. viii, 1-162. Luzac and Co. £1 17s. 6d.

The origin and development of Burmese drama were investigated by Sir W. Ridgeway, and more recently by U Htin Aung. Almost no texts of plays written before the 19th century have survived, and it is unlikely that more light will be thrown on the earlier period. U Hla Pe has summarized the existing information, and described the work of the playwrights who preceded and influenced U Pok Ni. The introduction of Burmese printing presses encouraged the writing of plays which could be read, instead of being acted either by living actors or by puppets. These plays, or *pya zat*, were written in verse, interspersed with songs, and U Hla Pe has furnished much information about verse forms and rhyme schemes, not previously available in English. Passages transcribed in roman characters will enable a reader ignorant of Burmese script to follow the explanations. The translation of U Pok Ni's play is the first word for word translation of a Burmese play that has appeared in English, and avoids English expressions with associations alien to the context. The play gives interesting glimpses of life in Lower Burma during the first generation after the British occupation, though the supernatural contrivances introduced in the latter part of the play are less acceptable to Europeans; they are however in the tradition of the Jātaka stories on which the Burmese drama was based. In Burmese verse and poetry the restriction on free composition imposed by the system of "climbing" or internal rhymes; the practice of dropping most of the particles (which in prose define the meanings of the verbs) in order to fit within the three, four, or five syllabled lines; the recurrent use of epithets and synonyms taken from Pāli literature—all these make the reading of Burmese poetry a severe test of

a student's memory and ingenuity. For the present translation, and still more for the Commentary promised in vol. ii, all English scholars of Burmese will be grateful.

H. F. SEARLE.

---

POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF HIGHLAND BURMA: A STUDY OF KACHIN SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By E. R. LEACH. pp. xii + 324, 7 maps, 7 diagrams. London: G. Bell and Sons (for London School of Economics and Political Science), 1954. 35s.

Dr. Leach, who has considerable experience of the Kachin Hills Area, both as an anthropologist and as a Burma Army officer, has written what is "intended as a contribution to anthropological theory. It is not intended as an ethnographic description". Basing himself mainly upon earlier publications, he interprets the facts afresh, his central thesis being the existence of two polar types of political organization in the area: *gumlao*, or Kachin "democracy", and Shan "autocracy". As most of the existing communities are neither *gumlao* nor autocratic, the author describes a third, intermediate, system, *gumsa*: this appears to be the typical system. Leach claims that the main fault of most ethnographic accounts is that they present Kachin social organizations as *gumsa* systems though "this system considered by itself does not really make sense; it is too full of inherent inconsistencies" (p. 9). In support of this he cites Lévi-Strauss' view that the structure contains elements "en contradiction avec le système, et doit donc entraîner sa ruine". Much turns on "doit"—"seems likely to", "ought", "must"? This is surely the main distinction between model, theoretical, social systems, and actual systems which are almost inevitably inconsistent, whether resting upon a written constitution or not, depending for efficiency upon improvisation and *ad hoc* invention to meet the exigencies of day-to-day existence and the vagaries of the political animals who operate them. For Leach the basis of social choice is power: no clear definition of this abstraction is given. Unless the Kachins are very different from the rest of humanity—so far as the reviewer's knowledge goes, they are not—it seems most unlikely that they are as narrowly motivated as Leach appears to imply. Alternatively, he has reinterpreted "the power motive in terms so wide as to include almost any social action" (the phrase is from Professor Firth's foreword). In the

absence of a definition, the question must remain open. The historical analysis of which the "blurb"—LSE inspired?—speaks so highly is interesting but tends to inaccuracy: e.g. Pelliot's northern route does not run more or less east-west but makes a disconcerting dog-leg to follow the Kabaw Valley and the Imphal Plain; the evidence points to Buddhism in Nanchao by the 8th century at least; the north Burma jade mines were a major source of supply much earlier than the 18th century.

Only further fieldwork and detailed analyses of other relatively well-documented areas will show whether this is an important contribution to anthropological theory or a fascinating not to say brilliant, hypothesis by the *enfant terrible* of British social anthropology. At all events the book is most stimulating and must be read.

A. H. CHRISTIE.

### India

ANCIENT JAINA HYMNS, SCINDIA ORIENTAL SERIES No. 2. Edited by CHARLOTTE KRAUSE. pp. iv, 23, 144. Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, 1952.

The Hymns, comprising seven in Sanskrit and one in Apabhraṃśa, occupy only a small portion of the book. The rest is taken up by the Introduction, Remarks on the Texts, Notes, and Bibliography. The Texts belong to the voluminous class of short religious odes, which are of minor literary importance, except when, as here, they are hitherto unknown works by a celebrated author or by one previously unknown. The Apabhraṃśa text has a special linguistic value, owing to the shortage of published texts.

The Introduction and the Remarks on the Texts contain well-documented information (much of it hitherto inaccessible in Europe) on various aspects of Jainism, including cosmology, chronology, and personalities.

Among particular points of interest in the Sanskrit poems, we may note the use of samasyā-pūraṇa in No. 3, the mantra-bījas of tantric lore in No. 4, the long list of tīrthas in No. 5, and the mention of Vairoṭyā in No. 6, which provokes an informative note on Vidyādhara.

Dr. Krause considers the Apabhraṃśa poem to show clear characteristics of Gurjara Apabhraṃśa, but this is doubtful. The Gujarati



Sanskrit grammars of the 14th-15th centuries and the earliest prose texts show clearly what forms are specifically Gujarati and most of those singled out by Dr. Krause are characteristic of other languages or common to Gujarati and other languages. One example must suffice here. The i-absolutiva is an Old Hindi form, found also in other northern languages, while the regular Gujarati form has a long -i. It is a pity that the *Ṭabbā* was not printed, as it might have aided comparison, but even here one of the examples given is a northern word *mū* (Guj. *muja*, *maja*).

The above criticism affects three pages only. The book, as a whole, fully justifies the tribute to the author's scholarship and research paid by Mr. Chaturvedi in the Preamble.

ALFRED MASTER.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS. Deccan College Dissertation Series: 12. By VITHAL TRIMBAK GUNE. pp. xxxv + 391 with 2 maps and 1 illustration. Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1953. Rs. 20.

Indian legal history helps us in at least two ways: light is needed on the sources and development of Hindu jurisprudence, one of the world's great systems of law, and ammunition is always welcome for the controversy regarding the future structure of judicial administration in India. Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta has recently whetted the appetite for details of the work of ancient and medieval *panchayats* by suggesting (*Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, 1952) that the very structure of the *Dharmaśāstra* is due to its development at the hands of popular committees long before a central administration of law was entrusted to the *rāja*.

Dr. Gune's analytical work, based upon original *mahzars* (attested records of proceedings), *nivāḍpatras* (official intimations of decisions), and *watanpatras* (administrative implementations of decisions regarding title to *watans*), gives much information both on the constitution and powers of local courts in the Deccan between about 1600 and 1818 and on the way in which they administered the personal laws of the inhabitants. If the details he is able to give are somewhat brief, the republication in selection of Marāṭhi material and the reproduction of hitherto unpublished documents (e.g. letters of Rāmsāstri, *Nyāyādhīśa*) more than makes up for the deficiencies. A rich field for the study of Hindu judicial concepts and practice awaits a lawyer with a knowledge of Marāṭhi.

The judicial system as modified by the Deccani Sultans served for long as a medium for the solution of all except purely religious disputes. The *majlīs* comprised government-appointees, representatives of land-holding families, local dignitaries, and public servants of lesser degree. Later the *rājamaṇḍal* of the Marāṭha kings acted as a superior court, and the *majlīs* gave way to the *panchayat*, presumably because the latter was less cumbersome. Of interest to-day is the power of the same Head of the State to supervise *divān-dāṇḍa* (civil penalties), *brahma-dāṇḍa* (spiritual penalties), and *jāti-dāṇḍa* (caste penalties), so that before the British period all three sanctions could be awarded from the same hand. Decisions on law alone were sought from *brahma-sabhās*, convened at holy places, or *jāti-sabhās*, and instances are known of declaratory decrees on legal principles (such as on *mātula-kanyā-parinaya*) pronounced by the Peshwā himself.

The large membership of the courts (one of 238 is recorded), the recourse to ordeals (Dr. Gune curiously distinguishes ordeals involving fire from those involving "divine intervention"), the exaction of fees and perquisites before grant of execution of a decree and, above all, the open preference for compromise rather than the application of the law (a known characteristic of present-day *panchayats*), all must have operated so as to tend to counter-balance the arguments of the enemies of the modern system. Contrary to popular belief, litigation was by no means always conducted locally, and if it were the losing party was prone to demand a revision on the ground of local prejudice.

Grammar and style are poor in places and the standard of printing is not uniformly high. The report of Lumsden (1819) has already appeared in Choksey, *The Aftermath* (1950).

J. D. M. DERRETT.

*TIROKKURĀḢ*. With English Translation and Commentary and an Introduction. By A. CHAKRAVARTI. pp. lxx + 648, 10 in. by 6¼ in. Printed at the Diocesan Press, Madras. 1953. 15 rupees.

This is not just one more translation of *Tirukkuraḷ*, but a new, and perhaps the correct, approach to the study of this great work by a scholar who has made a special study of the Jaina contribution to Tamil literature and advanced our knowledge of it. An elaborate introduction expounds the basic principles of Jainism and then, by

means of an illuminating analysis of its contents, shows how *Kuraḷ* is a systematic exposition of those principles. In addition to a clear translation there is a commentary, in the preparation of which all the existing commentaries were consulted, including the Jaina commentary of the 16th century attributed by F. W. Ellis (*Kuraḷ*, p. 19) to Kavirāja Paṇḍitar. As the book is intended mainly for readers unacquainted with the language of *Kuraḷ*, no glossary is provided, but only a subject index, and the text is in Roman as well as Tamil script.

*Tirukkuraḷ*, the editor considers "represents the essence of Tamil culture prevalent in the early centuries of the Christian era", and is "a noble attempt to safeguard the culture of the Tamils at a time when unwelcome inroads were being made by an alien culture antagonistic to the principles of non-violence, and militantly propagating its own social organization" (p. lxvi). The editor who had "a most clear and correct insight into the nature of the cultural background of this unique work" (p. iii) was Ellis—as shown perhaps by his illustrative verses, which, as Bower remarks (*Jivakacintamani* I, p. xxix), form "a treasury of Tamil learning". The original commentary on *Kuraḷ* was by Dharmar, a great Jaina commentator, to which apparently Parimēlaḷagar refers in his comments on *Kuraḷ* 3. This the present editor states in the introduction to his edition of *Kuraḷ* with the commentary of Kavirāja Paṇḍitar (p. xxxiii). Dharmar's commentary has not come down to us, and so there is only the commentary of Kavirāja Paṇḍitar to give the Jaina interpretation of particular couplets, though the learned editor of the *variorum* edition of *Kuraḷ* issued by the Dharmapuram Ādhinam considers that the commentary of Kāḷingar gives the Jaina point of view, and possibly for this reason relegates to footnotes the paraphrases of Kavirāja Paṇḍitar (at points where they are in conflict with those of Parimēlaḷagar, whom he follows in the main in his interpretations).

From internal evidence "it is clear that the author of *Tirukkuraḷ* could not have been a follower of the Vedic faith or of Buddhism" (p. lxvii), and we find the Jaina commentator of *Nīlakēṣi* claiming *Kuraḷ* (in the 14th century) as "our scripture" (Stanza 353). As to the author of *Kuraḷ*, Jaina tradition states that Elacharya or Sri Kundakunda was the author and Tiruvaḷḷuvar his lay disciple, who submitted the work to the Madura Academy for its approval. He is said to have lived about the first century B.C. (p. lxviii) or partly

in the first century B.C. and partly in the first century A.D. (*Nīlakēsi*, p. 6). There is of course no support for this view outside Jaina circles, while the date of composition is given as the beginning of the 6th century A.D. by Vyapuri Pillai after a realistic discussion of all available data, though he too is convinced that the author, whoever he was, was a Jaina (*Tamiḷ Cudarmaṇigal*, pp. 61-80).

Viewed from whatever angle, the present excellent work is an indispensable aid to the study of *Tirukkuraḷ*.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.

BENGAL NAWABS. By JADU NATH SARKAR.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 156. Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1952.

One symptom of the decline of the Mughal empire was the rise to power of able adventurers and governors who laid the foundations of independent provincial dynasties. The State of Hyderabad was founded by Nizam-ul-mulk. The kings of Oudh were descended from Saadat Ali Khan, the Mughal governor of that province. In 1740, Sarfaraz Khan, the viceroy of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, was overthrown by Ali Vardi Khan, a subordinate official in charge of the administration of Bihar. From this usurpation can be traced the rise of the independent dynasty of the *nawab-nazims* of Bengal with whom Clive came into contact.

Students of the decline of Mughal rule in India will be grateful to Sir Jadunath Sarkar for his English translation of two of the chief Persian sources for the career of Ali Vardi Khan: the *Muzaffarnāmah* of Karam Ali and the *Ahwāl-i-Mahābat Jang* of Yusuf Ali. The *Muzaffarnāmah* is a detailed history of the Bengal *suba* from the rise of Ali Vardi Khan to 1772. The *Ahwāl-i-Mahābat Jang* covers the period 1740-56. It has been closely followed by Ghulām Husain Tabātabāi in his *Siyar-ul-Mutākharin* especially where he describes the Maratha invasions of Bengal and the Afghan rebellions. The student would be well advised to read Professor Kalikankar Datta's authoritative work *Alivardi and his Times* (University of Calcutta, 1939) where full use has been made of all the available sources.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

*Jw* NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA, 1938. By T. N. RAMACHANDRAN. pp. 46, with 38 plates, maps, and plans. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no. 71, Delhi, 1953. Rs. 12/8.

The hill of Nāgārjunakonḍa has given its name to an important

South India Buddhist site, some sixty miles upstream from the more famous Amarāvati. The site, partly excavated by A. H. Longhurst from 1926 to 1931, revealed a large stūpa and several smaller ones, together with the remains of monasteries and temples. The more important buildings were erected in the 3rd century A.D., when the district was ruled by the Ikṣvāku dynasty, whose kings performed brahmanical rites and patronized the orthodox priesthood, but whose queens seem to have been equally munificent in their patronage of Buddhism. It is chiefly to these royal ladies that the larger monuments of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa owe their existence.

The present monograph describes further excavations carried out by the author between 1938 and 1940. Stūpas only partially revealed by the earlier excavators were completely exposed, and the remains of two temples and two monasteries excavated, together with several smaller buildings, and what appears to have been a sculptor's workshop. Material useful for chronological purposes included several Āndhra lead coins and an aureus of Hadrian, while two fragmentary votive inscriptions in Sanskrit proved by their palæography that the site was still occupied in the latter half of the 5th century A.D., when the Ikṣvāku dynasty had long vanished.

The sculpture revealed by the later excavations is mainly relief carving on slabs which originally decorated the stūpas. and most is very fragmentary. The style is that of Amarāvati, but in general the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture lacks the certainty and delicacy of that of the more famous site. Exceptional among the newly excavated remains are two slabs from Site 5, one depicting an unidentified village scene, and the other the return of Channa and Kaṇṭhaka after the Buddha's "Great Retirement". These two reliefs, which are well preserved, show us the school at its best, and can hold their own with all but the finest products of Amarāvati.

A. L. BASHAM.

---

BARODA THROUGH THE AGES. By BENDAPUDI SUBBARAO. pp. xiii, 130, with 22 plates. 32 pages of maps, charts, and line-illustrations. Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1953. Rs. 15.

This work is based on excavations carried out by the University of Baroda in three areas of the city, during the winter of 1951-52, and combines a report of the excavations and a history of the district.



The oldest of the sites excavated (Akota, Mound II, Trench IV) produced numerous microliths at the lowest level, and showed the existence of a settlement of very primitive people in pre-Christian times. This stratum is covered by a thick layer of silt, indicating either extensive flooding or the shifting of the course of the River Vishvamitri. In another trench of the same site (Akota, Mound I, Trench I) no trace of flooding was found, but microliths occurred in diminishing quantities at no less than six levels, associated in all but the two lowest with the red polished ware attributed to the early centuries of the Christian Era. The lowest stratum, referred to by Dr. Subbarao as Layer 10, yielded ninety-eight microliths and no pottery; Layer 9 yielded forty-two microliths and Kṣatrapa pottery; while Layers 8, 7, and 6 yielded twenty-six microliths and the red polished ware already referred to (p. 17). One stray microlith was found in the medieval Layer 2. The number of microliths found in Layers 8, 7, and 6 is comparatively small, but significant, and is explained by Dr. Subbarao on the hypothesis of a flood which washed away the layer of silt found in Mound II, with the result that "the Early Historic people might have rested directly on an earlier habitation of the Microlithic folk" (p. 68). But according to the map of the excavations Mound II, which shows the layer of silt, is on a higher level than Mound I, which does not; and it is surely unlikely that a river in flood would wash away silt from a site without making some further deposit. Dr. Subbarao is forced to offer this rather unlikely explanation of the occurrence of microliths in the context of red polished ware because the microlithic culture "could not be later than 1000 B.C." (p. 10).

Probably many archaeologists would not support this very early terminal date for the microlithic culture. Excavations further to the south suggest its survival to a considerably later date, and in our view the evidence of Mound I tends to confirm this. We would suggest that the site was originally inhabited by the microlith people, whoever they may have been. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, under the rule of the Śaka satraps, civilized Indians settled on the site, but a few microliths users still lingered in the neighbourhood, gradually adopting the tools of the newcomers and ultimately merging with them. This seems the most probable explanation of the remarkable synchronism of primitive microliths and fine pottery. Of course, primitive and advanced cultural elements can often be found in close contiguity in modern India.

The red polished ware, found here in considerable quantity, gives interesting evidence of contact with the west. It is believed that the pottery was either imported directly, or inspired by the style and techniques of the Roman pottery which, according to the *Periplus*, found a ready market at the emporium of Barygaza (Broach). Other evidence of contact with the west is found in two clay sealings, bearing the device of prancing horses, and the handle of a bronze amphora with the figure of Eros; these are evidently of Greco-Roman origin. Of the medieval period the most important discovery is a splendid hoard of Jaina bronzes, unearthed before the main excavations were commenced. This hoard, probably buried before the invasion of Alp Khan in 1297, contains some 160 pieces, of which about sixty are in fairly good condition. These are among the most valuable remains of the Western school of metal sculpture, which has so far received less attention than it deserves.

Dr. Subbarao and his colleagues of Baroda University are to be congratulated on their work, which is a significant contribution to our knowledge of India's past.

A. L. BASHAM.

---

THE SHI'A OF INDIA. By JOHN NORMAN HOLLISTER. pp. xiv + 440. London: Luzac and Company, Ltd., 1953. £3 3s.

Dr. Hollister's book is a valuable addition to the small number of works in English on the religious life of Muslims in India and Pakistan, though it oscillates rather uneasily between being a compendium of references to the Shi'a in India which may be found in Indian Muslim histories, an exposition of Shi'a doctrine, and a description of the life and customs of the various Shi'a communities in the sub-continent—including the Ithna 'Ashariya, the Bohras and the Khojas—before 1947.

Dr. Hollister might well have compared the Shi'a in India and elsewhere, examined more thoroughly the influence of Hinduism on belief law and custom, and reduced the quantity of "potted" political history of the Bahmani and subsequent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, whose Shi'a affiliations appear more obtrusive than significant, for their policies, as Dr. Hollister concedes, were not normally controlled by religious motives.

His views on the possible future of the Shi'a in India and Pakistan are more likely to commend themselves to educated Europeans than

to members of the various Shi'a communities. As followers of revealed truth, they are probably oblivious to the need for "the development of the potentialities within Shi'a doctrines for a fuller and freer life in a world which now clamours for larger freedoms". Dr. Hollister is probably correct in holding that the doctrine of *taqiya* has prevented the Shi'a from exercising their full influence as a community even among Muslims. A study of their role in the movement for Pakistan would be interesting: it is to be regretted that Dr. Hollister does not elaborate his contention that many Shi'a feared Sunni domination in an independent Muslim state.

Several minor errors need correction. It was not (p. 348) Ala ud-din Muhammad Shah Khwarazm but Mu'izz ud-din Muhammad bin Sam of Ghor who was assassinated by Ismailies in A.D. 1206. Nasir ud-din Mahmud Tughluq not Firuz Shah Tughluq sent Khwaja Jahan to Jaunpur as governor in A.D. 1394 (p. 183).

The book includes an exhaustive bibliography of relevant printed materials and a glossary of Islamic terms.

P. HARDY.

---

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA. Vol. iii (*New Series*). BOMBAY, SURAT, AND MALABAR COAST (1677-1684). By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. Oxford, Clarendon Press. pp. xliii + 436; illustrations; maps.

This bulky volume covers seven stormy years in the English Factories on the West Coast of India, the principal interest centering on Bombay, where there was constant friction with the Portuguese of neighbouring Salsette, and frequent trouble with Marathas and Mughals. Trade at Surat and elsewhere was also complicated by the activity of the "interlopers" who challenged the Company's monopoly of English trade in India, but denunciations of Dutch competition are less common than in previous decades. The mutiny of the Bombay garrison ("Keigwin's rebellion") inevitably occupies a good deal of space, although that episode is well documented in the Stracheys' book of that title. The late Sir Charles Fawcett's editing is as careful and conscientious as usual, and condensing all the documents into narrative form must have involved an enormous amount of work. The result reads very smoothly, but some readers will probably prefer Sir William Foster's method of giving epitomes of, or extracts from, each document in turn. The stilted engravings from Struys and Forbes might, perhaps, have been advantageously

replaced by two of Edward Barlow's more lively (and less familiar) coloured drawings. The printing is up to previous high standards, but the index gives the impression of being rather below them.

C. R. BOXER.

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY. By P. SARAN. pp. 255.  
Delhi: Ranjit Printers and Publishers, 1952.

Dr. Saran's book is a collection of papers based on lectures to post-graduate students. They include studies on the feudal system of Rajputana, on various phases of the life and activities of Sher Shah, the *jiziyah*, on the economic policy and price control of Ala ud-din Khalji, and on the frontier policy of the Turkish sultans of Delhi.

Dr. Saran claims that his views differ widely from those commonly accepted and that he welcomes helpful criticism. So, he will not object if one suggests that his article on the *jiziyah* adds little to the account to be found in the "Encyclopædia of Islam" beyond a passionate denunciation of an "unholy alliance between priests and princes" directed to the preservation of their vested interests and involving "more often than not a tragic setback to the march of mankind", a denunciation that ignores the author's warning against assuming that "medieval divines, priests, and potentates, were imbued with the same motives and ideas which are being developed in this age". His commonly held notion that the early Muslim sultans of Delhi levied *jiziyah* needs to be re-examined in the light of a more critical approach to the Muslim historians of the period who often were eulogizing an ideal sultan in stock Islamic idiom rather than reporting what was actually done.

The article on the economic policy of Ala ud-din Khalji rests on the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Zia ud-din Barni. But once it is realized that Barni was writing a religious and moral melodrama about the reign of Ala ud-din Khalji, that his treatment of events and his notions of causation are religious and not political or economic, and that it is solely from him that other accounts of Ala ud-din's measures have been derived, then it will be seen that there is not sufficient data from which to detect the sultan's motives or the effects of his actions upon his subjects, in the way that Dr. Saran attempts. That Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is a magnificent piece of special pleading is clear from his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, in which similar ideas are expressed without their "historical" illustrations.

Dr. Saran's "Studies" show the need to subject the Muslim histories of medieval India to the searching analysis employed on similar materials for Islamic history outside India. An examination of the concepts of history writing found explicitly or implicitly in Indian Muslim histories would reveal the limitations of any conclusions based on them.

P. HARDY.

### Buddhism

2 **BUDDHIST TEXTS THROUGH THE AGES.** Edited by E. CONZE, in collaboration with J. B. HORNER, D. SNELGROVE, A. WALEY. pp. 324. Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 1954.

This collection of Buddhist texts takes a very wide sweep, and includes passages from Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, and Apabhramsa. It is intended as a sequel to Dr. Conze's book *Buddhism*, to which it claims to form a body of texts, "covering the entire development of Buddhist faith and thought through the ages". The first part compiled by Miss J. B. Horner gives the teaching on the Sangha, the Dhamma, and the Buddha as found in the Pāli Scriptures. The rest consists of the Mahāyāna by Dr. Conze, the Tantraz by D. Snellgrove, and texts from China and Japan chosen by A. Waley. The translations read smoothly, and one is not upset by any revolution in the use of technical terms. That is a small matter for those who are willing to tackle the original texts.

E. J. THOMAS.

### Islam

**AVICENNE ET LE RÉCIT VISIONNAIRE.** By HENRY CORBIN. 2 vols. pp. 343. pp. 113 + 88. Teheran, 1954.

In reviewing an earlier book by Henry Corbin (*JRAS.*, 1953, p. 175), I suggested the importance of his scheme of work to the formation of a juster estimate of certain ranges of intellectual and spiritual activity in Islam; and I referred especially to Avicenna. In the present publication, prepared under the general inspiration of the Avicenna millenary celebrations in Tehran (a circumstance which, as Corbin allows, has resulted in infelicities of presentation still only partially eradicated in this so-called "second edition"), Avicenna comes to the centre of the stage, with the abiding genius of Iran as his background. As his impressario, Corbin, despite the



daunting shortage of material, is as masterly as ever : more, perhaps, than any contemporary specialist in Islamic thought, he has the gift of re-creating the " climate " of the ideas, and the ability to enliven the images they took in the semi-popular mind. More than so many, he appears conscious of the vast, cumulative unwritten tradition (his use of the word *récit* is most apt) without an apprehension of which, the mere " scientific " editing of texts is little more than a formal scholastic exercise.

Volume I consists of five richly stocked chapters (with an *Epilogue* and a *Post-scriptum*) : the most valuable are the studies on the themes of Ḥaiy b. Yaḡzān, the " Bird " and Salāmān and Absāl respectively, though that on Avicennism and Angelology, and the somewhat grandiosely titled initial chapter on the Avicennian Cosmos, are both full of original and stimulating material. Volume II contains the Arabic text of the Ḥaiy legend, with the Persian rendering and commentary often attributed to the disciple Jūzjānī, and a French translation with notes. The various manuscripts used in either case are described at length in Volume I.

G. M. WICKENS.

---

ESSAI SUR LES ORIGINES DU LEXIQUE TECHNIQUE DE LA MYSTIQUE MUSULMANE. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. Nouvelle édition revue et considérablement augmentée. (Études Musulmanes : II.) pp. 453, 7 plates. Paris, 1954.

Professor Massignon's *Essai*, first published in 1922, has long been recognized as a fundamental textbook for the study of early Sufism ; all later work in this field has depended upon it to a greater or a lesser extent. Since the book has been out of print for some years, a new edition is very welcome, the more so since the erudite author has added supplementary notes and provided further extracts from unpublished original sources. The main body of the work is, however, unchanged, the reproduction of the first edition being photographic ; the new material is appended to each chapter.

In the intervening thirty years research in Sufism has made great strides, thanks in large measure to the inspiring example of Professor Massignon's pioneering work. The supplementary notes bear witness to the range and variety of these modern studies, and are of great bibliographical value. They are, however, far from complete ; a few additions may be mentioned as instances. The *Ṭabaqāt*

*al-Ṣūfīya* of al-Sulamī (see "Avertissement") was published at Cairo in 1953. It is no longer necessary to quote al-Kalābādhī's *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf* (see pp. 346-360) from the manuscripts since the Cairo, 1933, edition. The *Kitāb al-Tawahhum* of al-Muḥāsibī (see p. 317) was published at Cairo in 1937. The author of the *Adab al-'ālim wa'l-muta'allim* (p. 319) was not the mystic al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī but his contemporary Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Tirmidhī. The *Kitāb al-Riyāḍa* and the *Adab al-naḥs* of al-Tirmidhī were published at Cairo in 1947. The list of contents of the Istanbul manuscript of al-Junaid's *Rasā'il* (see p. 304) has been shown to be inaccurate (see *JRAS.*, 1935, p. 499); and his *Dawā' al-arwāḥ* has been edited (*JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 219-231). I regret that Professor Massignon should still (p. 333) regard the *Mawāqif* of al-Niffārī (not Nafzī!) as of questionable authenticity, particularly after the discovery and publication (*BSOAS*, 1953, pp. 29-42) of an autograph fragment.

A. J. ARBERRY.

### Art

LES PEINTURES DES MANUSCRITS TIMŪRIDES. By IVAN STCHOUKINE. (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique—Tome lx.) pp. vi + 176, pls. lxxxviii. Paris: Geuthner, 1954.

It is nearly twenty years since M. Stchoukine published his study of manuscript illumination under the Persian Il-Khans, and he is to be congratulated on maintaining a steady interest in the subject, which has eventually borne fruit, after long patient waiting, in this much more sumptuously illustrated volume. Instead of the documentation by sketches reproduced by line blocks, we have here excellent colotype plates. But his method is the same—an account of the literary sources for the period—a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts with miniatures of the period, and an analysis of the treatment in them of landscape, architecture, animals, human beings, and finally of the composition, each separately considered. In each chapter the treatment is historical, but the manuscripts have been divided into seven classes, of which two are devoted to the schools of painting centred in the second half of the period in Herat and Shiraz, four to the same schools in the first half, and to their predecessors, in North-Western Persia, the Jalā'irids, and one to manuscripts of mixed origin. The plan is

logically devised, and reliably carried out. The recurrence of the same Manuscripts in each chapter leads to a certain amount of repetition inevitable in discussing relationships of the principal landmarks, and of other things related to them.

The catalogue part of the book lists 82 manuscripts containing miniatures ranging in date from 1388 to the end of the fifteenth century, and including certainly all the most important documents of this period now known to scholarship. It is a personal selection, and in deciding where to draw the line of exclusion, there might no doubt be differences of opinion. It is a pity that M. Stehoukine does not appear to know of the important little manuscript anthology in Mr. Bernard Berenson's collection, which was copied in 830 (A.D. 1426) by Muhammad ibn Husam, the scribe of the Istanbul *Kahila wa Dimna* (Stehoukine, No. xxv) and of the Vienna Khwājū (ibid, No. xxxii). Nor does he mention the earliest MS. copied by Ja'far, the Nizāmī in the J. C. French collection of 823 H. (A.D. 1420). He gives references to reproductions in the principal works devoted to the subject, probably rightly ignoring for this purpose periodicals; and to judgments on dating and attribution which are thus usefully summarized. He gives the names of calligraphers, with place and date of copying of the MSS., if known; the folios and number of illustrations, but not generally complete descriptions of them. He gives the size of the MS. but not unfortunately of the miniatures, even of those reproduced, which is sometimes misleading. For instance, the miniature reproduced in plate xii is much enlarged. The original measures only 5 inches by 5.3 inches, and occupies less than half a page.

One important attribution on which it is difficult to agree with the author is of the beautiful *Khasrau al Shirin* MS. in the Freer Gallery at Washington (his No. xl). Although this is recorded as copied at "Tabriz, the capital of the kingdom" by 'Ali ibn Hasan al-Sultānī, it is attributed to a period about 1420, because of the connection of the miniatures with the great Herat Shāh-Nāma of 1430. This, to use one of M. Stehoukine's own expressions, does not seem to be well based. But apart from stylistic considerations, which lead inevitably to the Jalā'ir court, the *Nisbah* of the scribe is conclusive at this period for a servant of the last of that house, Sultān Ahmad; the title was not used by the Timurids. The most likely date for this manuscript is 1406, during his last occupation of Tabriz.

On the other hand M. Stchoukine has, in our opinion, quite correctly revised some long established opinions. Thus the interesting but puzzling astrological compilation in the Bodleian Library entitled *Kitāb al-Bulhān* is correctly ascribed to Baghdad under the Jalā'ir rule (cf. No. 10), although he was unaware of the true date of it which Mr. D. S. Rice has more recently published as A.D. 1399. With the rich illuminated manuscript Ajā'ib al Makh'lūqāt in the Bibliothèque Nationale (S. iv) these miniatures give an idea of the ordinary lure of Jalā'irid painting at this time to serve as background to Junayid's achievement in the superb MS. of Khwājū Kirmānī in the British Museum (S. No. vi). But the unique MS., now in the Freer Gallery, Washington, of Sultan Ahmad Jalā'ir's own Diwān has still not yielded up its mystery. M. Stchoukine's solution that the tinted line-drawings were added by a Persian artist in Turkey about the middle of the seventeenth century is more ingenious than probable. It is intended to allow of their antedating the text of Sa'di which has been copied into the other margins in 1643, according to a colophon; but the style would be even harder to explain in the seventeenth century than about the year 1400. There really seem to be only two alternatives. These essays in realism and Chinoiserie are either contemporary with the author, or they are the works of our own sophisticated age. M. Stchoukine does not cite the parallel most likely to convince one of the earlier date, namely the numerous tinted drawings contained in the later pages of that wonderful pocket library made for the Timurid prince Iskandar b-Umar Shaykh in 813/1410, and now in the British Museum (S. No. xv). Although these are briefly mentioned in his catalogue entry, they are not reproduced or discussed by M. Stchoukine, who thus leaves on one side one of the most interesting examples of early Timurid chinoiserie.

The attempt to divide up the miniatures in a manuscript, and to apportion them to different hands, is probably a vain one. The general practice in Persia probably was for the principal painter to be in charge of the whole work, in the actual execution of which he would be assisted by assistants and pupils. All that seems possible is to point to certain miniatures or parts of miniatures which show the master's own hand. For instance, in the thirteen miniatures which now remain to illustrate the five volumes of the poems of Mir 'Ah Shir Nawa'i, dated A.D. 1845, it is difficult not to believe that the master himself was responsible for all the figures

and their placing and expressions in "Sheykh Irāqī overcome at "parting" and for the group of the "Prophet and his Companions" Still, one must recognize a strong over-riding unity in all the miniatures of this series. All excel in the use of rich and judiciously chosen colours, and all in the superb quality of the architectural ornament represented. In all, moreover, this is given considerable prominence, to the extent also of representing all carpets and tiled walls in positions of special visibility, either completely in the plane of the picture surface, or if seen in perspective, it is not the arabesque pattern that suffers. These features they have in common with the Bihzād of the Cairo *Bustan* of 1488-9.

A merit of this book is the clarity of the expression of the author's judgments, which follow immediately on his record of previous opinions. But the analytical treatment brings with it no sense of the essential quality which distinguishes the best work of the early Timurid period, which shows a sensibility and freedom of handling within the rich conventions inherited from the previous generation. M. Stchoukine seems to feel the need to defend these painters from charges of naiveté, ignorance of the laws of perspective, monotony in the facial expressions or gesture. Such an apologetic attitude is surely not needed to-day. The miniature painters of the Timurid period in Persia were perhaps the greatest masters of romantic painting that the world has seen. The pure, opaque colours are used to enclose insets of flat drawing which can only be compared in the West with stained glass of the twelfth or thirteenth century. In order that this truth should be recognized what are most needed now are facsimile reproductions of the finest quality, available to schools. They will require no apology from their sponsors.

BASIL GRAY.

<sup>1</sup> Stchoukine however attributes these two miniatures to different hands, contrary to the opinion expressed by W. B. Robinson in his recent note in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*.



## LIDZBARSKI PRIZE ESSAY

The Lidzbarski Committee will award a Gold Medal for the best essay on "La langue et la littérature des textes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra-Ugarit", to be forwarded to the office of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft not less than three months before the next (XXIV) International Congress of Orientalists.

Essays must be typed on one side of the page only and bear a pseudonym, which must be repeated on the cover of a sealed envelope containing the name and address of the competitor.

The prize for 1954 to a distinguished Orientalist has been awarded to Professor Dr. Karl Brockelmann, in the form of a gold medal.

The awarding committee are appointed by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, the Société Asiatique, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the American Oriental Society.

## The East India Company's Education of its Own Servants

By JOHN BOWEN

DURING the eighteenth century the East India Company did not consider the education of its own European civil servants as a necessary care. Appointment was by patronage, and it was assumed that the parents and friends of a writer would have subjected him to the ordinary education of his class.<sup>1</sup> With no more than this background a young writer would sail for India at the age of about seventeen years. The Indian Service was confined to comparatively few families and he might reasonably expect to find relatives or friends of relatives at any of the three Presidencies, and these would give him hospitality and guidance. His initial employment would be as a copying clerk; as such he would become familiar with the routine of the service before being given a post of responsibility. The only concession made by the Company to his need for any other instruction than that given by his daily employment was the payment to him of a *Munshi's allowance*, so that he might hire an Indian to teach him Persian and the local language.

This system produced, along with a crop of mediocrities and some rogues, a succession of able and sometimes brilliant men, but it was too haphazard to be suited to the administration of a large territorial empire. It was the Marquess Wellesley, "the first governor-general to realize that the time had come for the British to stand forth as the paramount power in India,"<sup>2</sup> who proposed a deliberate plan of educating the Company's newly recruited servants for the responsibilities of civil government.

In 1798 Mr. Frank Gilchrist, the author of a *Hindustani Grammar and Dictionary*, approached the Governor-General with an offer to instruct newly arrived writers in the languages of the country in return for the amount of the *Munshi's allowance* that would normally have been paid to each. Mornington (as he then was) sanctioned this

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1800 this was the view held by the President of the Board of Control. Dundas to Wellesley, 4th September, 1800. *Add. MSS.* 37275, ff. 189-190.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Davies, *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsular*, p. 58. An examination of maps 25, 26, and 28 in this atlas will give some indication of the extent to which territories administered by the Company increased from 1772 to 1805.

scheme and decided that an annual examination of Gilchrist's pupils should be held. He published a notification that from 1st January, 1801 :—

“No Civil Servant should be nominated to certain offices of trust and responsibility until it should be ascertained that he was sufficiently acquainted with the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council, and the several languages, the knowledge of which is declared . . . to be requisite for the Discharge of the respective Functions of such Offices.”

“ . . . The present arrangement (*he informed the Court*), is connected with a more extensive plan.”<sup>1</sup>

That “more extensive plan”, of the details of which he did not then inform the Court, was to found a residential college at Fort William, in Calcutta. Already, in 1799, he had written to Dundas, at the Board of Control, adverting on the need for the proper education of young civil servants and adding :—

“I intend without waiting for orders from home to proceed to found such an institution at Calcutta. I have already taken some steps towards the measure.”<sup>2</sup>

In May, 1800, the Directors approved the plan of Gilchrist's which had been described to them.<sup>3</sup> But before their letter arrived in India Wellesley had already put his own plan into operation. By Regulation IX of 1800 the Governor-General in Council had founded the College of Fort William, at Calcutta, an institution designed to teach not only the laws, languages, and literatures of India, but most of the elements of the sound liberal education that Wellesley believed the Company's junior servants to lack.

The Governor-General's *Notes on the College of Fort William* explained the scheme of the institution and the reasons for founding it.<sup>4</sup> In later debates in the Court of Proprietors on Haileybury College there was hardly a speaker on either side who did not draw his text from these notes in analysing the problem of educating young men for the duties of government in India, of which the

<sup>1</sup> Public letter from Bengal of 25th December, 1798. I have used the extract from this letter to be found in *Home Misc.*, 488, ff. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Mornington to Dundas, 24th October, 1799. Quoted in the *Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley K.G. During His Administration in India*, ed. Montgomery Martin (London, 1836), Vol. II, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Public letter to Bengal of 7th May, 1800, extracted in *Home Misc.*, 488, ff. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> I have used the copy of the *Notes* to be found in *Home Misc.*, 488, ff. 19-142. There is also a copy in *Home Misc.*, 487.

Marquess wrote, "No more arduous or complicated Duties of Magistracy exist in the World."

The defects of the existing system as Wellesley saw them were :—

"An erroneous system of education in Europe confined to commercial and mercantile studies.

"The premature interruption of a course of study in Europe.

"The exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and control their moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the Service.

"The want of a similar system and authority to enforce a regular course of study under which the young men upon their arrival in India might be enabled to correct the errors or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and Customs of India, together with such other branches of knowledge as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations.

"The want of such Regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the Civil Service and the possession of those qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several Civil Stations."

After the defects, the remedy. It would not be practicable to raise the age-limit for the service to above twenty years so as to allow the young men to get a liberal education at home, because writers of that age, he thought, would not be content with the salaries of junior servants, nor would they acquire the necessary familiarity with Indian languages and customs. Therefore he had founded a "Collegiate Institution at Fort William", which all newly arrived writers, bound for whatever presidency, were to attend; this single institution would be preferable to separate institutions at each presidency, he believed, because it would be cheaper, because education of this sort ought to be uniform over the service and under the direct supervision of the Supreme Government, and because, in any case, the Bengal Service was more advanced than either of the others—a belief always likely to be held by the Governors-General as long as the seat of government continued to be at Calcutta.

Students of the College would be given free apartments and a common table; their salary would be 300 rupees a month. The term of study should be three years; certain offices (which are not specified in Regulation IX) should not be held except by graduates of the College. Two public examinations should be held annually. The establishment was to include a Provost and Vice-Provost, both

of whom should be clergymen of the Church of England, and a teaching staff that would deal with the Indian languages, the Hindu and Muslim laws, the Regulations of Government, political economy, geography, mathematics, modern European languages, Greek, Latin, the English classics, general history both ancient and modern, the history and antiquities of Hindustan and the Deccan, natural history, botany, chemistry, and astronomy.

The College had been temporarily housed in Writers' Buildings until such time as a suitable edifice could be built further out of Calcutta, at Garden Reach, and had initially been financed by a small contribution levied on the salaries of all the civil servants in India, as well as by the amount of the fund for *Munshi's allowance*, which would no longer be required for its original purpose. The Reverend David Brown<sup>1</sup> had been appointed as Provost, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan<sup>2</sup> as Vice-Provost. Wellesley had retained for the use of the College the captured library of Tippu Sultan (which the Court had desired should be sent to their own collection in Leadenhall Street). Finally, he announced, he considered the College as a monument to his recent conquest of Mysore, and had therefore dated its foundation from 4th May, 1800, as a perpetual reminder of the fall of Seringapatam.

The Governor-General's letter seems to have been received in England in April, 1801, by the vessel the *Princess Mary*.<sup>3</sup> It was read by a Committee of the Court of Directors, and Charles Grant was entrusted with the task of drafting a reply.<sup>4</sup> In addition, a copy of the *Notes* was sent for an opinion to Warren Hastings, living in

<sup>1</sup> Brown, a friend of Charles Grant the Elder, then a Director, went to India to superintend the Free School at Calcutta, and was later appointed chaplain to the Presidency.

<sup>2</sup> Chaplain at Barrackpore.

<sup>3</sup> This is conjecture. The original letter, which would be endorsed on the back with the date of arrival and the ship conveying it, is not to be found in the Volume of Letters from Bengal of that year. The MSS. preserved in *Home Misc.*, 487 and 488, are copies and so do not carry this information. But letters dispatched from Bengal at the same time have been received by *Princess Mary* on 11th April, 1801, and we know that on 10th May, David Scott, then Chairman of the Court, wrote to Cornwallis to thank him for an opinion on the proposed College. (See the *Correspondence of David Scott*, ed. C. H. Phillips. Camden Society, Third Series, LXXVI, Vol. II, p. 306.)

<sup>4</sup> "The papers . . . were put into my hands at the end of the last Direction, in order to prepare the heads of such an answer as would be likely to meet the sentiments of the Court." Grant to the Rev. David Brown, 19th June, 1801. (Quoted in *The Life of Charles Grant*, by Henry Morris, p. 241.)



retirement at Daylesford, and a copy of Hastings' *Sentiments and Opinions on the Institution of a College in Bengal* has been preserved.<sup>1</sup> His sentiments and those of the Court were akin.<sup>2</sup> While approving of the principle of the Institution, they had these objections to it: That it was too grand and too expensive; the twenty professorships were too many, and time would be better devoted to specifically Oriental studies than to European literature and the classics. That it would have been better to have established separate colleges at the other presidencies than that all the Company's junior servants should acquire the prejudices of Bengal. Besides, it would greatly increase the Governor-General's patronage and decrease that of the Court if postings were to be made from the College after graduation, instead of by the Court itself from England. Hastings wrote of his regret if Wellesley:—

“should hazard the credit of a very useful institution by a pertinacious adherence to those parts of it which are not essential to it, and might render the whole unpopular”.

Since the Act of 1784 had instituted the Board of Control for Indian Affairs, the conduct of the East India Company's correspondence, never brisk, had become even more cumbersome.<sup>3</sup> Paragraphs for inclusion in dispatches would be drafted by the Committee of Correspondence and sent to the Board of Control for approval; this was known as a *previous communication*. These drafts might be cut by the Board and amendments written into them in red ink. Were the Board's cuts and amendments not acceptable to the Court, considerable delays might follow before an agreed dispatch could be devised, though in the last resort the Board could force the Court to send a particular draft as it stood by applying for a writ of *mandamus*. At times when the Court and the Board were in accord, the previous communications would often be agreed at a weekly meeting between the President of the Board and the two Chairs. By 1801, however, Lord Dartmouth had succeeded Dundas to the Presidency and his tenure of office marked a particularly stormy period in the relations between the two.

Nevertheless, the first draft of a reply to Wellesley was approved

<sup>1</sup> *Home Misc.*, 487, ff. 193–236.

<sup>2</sup> See also the letter from Grant to Brown quoted above, which lists the objections as the Court saw them.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Phillips, *The East India Company, 1784 to 1834* (Manchester University Press, 1940), pp. 19–22, describes the system in detail.

by Dartmouth. He wrote to David Scott, the Director, on 15th December, 1801 :—

“ As it admits the basis, a superstructure may hereafter . . . be raised upon it conformable to his Lordship's views.”<sup>1</sup>

But between the making of the first draft and its approval there was a sharp change of feeling in the Direction towards the Governor-General.

Understandably the Company was jealous of its monopoly of the India trade. In 1793 that monopoly had been under a determined attack by the private trade interest, both in Parliament and through the Press, but had yet been continued in the Charter Renewal Act of that year. However, under the conditions of the French War, it was not possible for the fleet of Indiamen adequately to exploit the Indian export trade, and in India the Governor-General allowed India-built ships to take up some of the surplus. He had first put forward a plan for doing so in a letter of 5th October, 1798, but on 29th October he had received the Court's orders of 25th May, 1798, positively prohibiting him from so using India-built ships and had put off the scheme. In a letter of 30th September, 1800, also received by the *Princess Mary* on 11th April, 1801,<sup>2</sup> he dealt in detail with the question of private trade and announced :—

“ the absolute necessity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage for the service of the present season ”.

This letter, written later than that on the College, although it was received by the same packet, came up for consideration later. By it the Governor-General offended those who had apparently been disposed to allow him to have his way over the affair of the College.<sup>3</sup> At an angry meeting of the Court of Proprietors on 16th December, 1801, both topics were discussed.<sup>4</sup> The Directors scrapped the previous communication as it had been approved by the Board, and sent up a fresh draft in its place.<sup>5</sup> The College was to be abolished

<sup>1</sup> *European MSS.*, F. 18/1, f. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters From Bengal*, Vol. 40. The folios of this volume are not numbered. This is duly endorsed on the back with the date of receipt.

<sup>3</sup> Sweeney Toone, a Director, wrote to Hastings on 12th July, 1801, that the plan “ appeared to the Court in General to be extravagant. . . . However he had done it, and there appeared to be a disposition in the Court not to blame anything which was sanctioned by his Lordship ”. *Add. MSS.* 29177, f. 38. This letter has been inaccurately dated “ 1799 ” by some later hand. It could not have been written in that year and an examination of the seal confirms the year “ 1801 ”.

<sup>4</sup> *London Chronicle*, Thursday, 17th December, 1801.

<sup>5</sup> Draft No. 23. *Home Misc.*, 487, ff. 245–256.

and replaced by an establishment for teaching the languages only. Writers from the subordinate presidencies were to be returned thither. Wellesley's action in making the foundation without first getting the sanction of the Court may have sprung from laudable motives but was unprecedented and would not be tolerated.

The draft opened with a passage adverting on the expense of the scheme :—

“ In the present situation of the Company's affairs, with a Debt in India beyond all former Amount, and a scarcity of money there beyond all former experience, in consequence of which Public Credit is depressed, and the Investments have either been reduced or wholly suspended, we cannot consistently with our duty sanction by our approbation the immediate establishment of any Institution (however we may approve of some parts of it) which must involve the Company in expense of considerable and unknown amount, and which might be applied to purposes more beneficial to the Company's interests.”

Dartmouth proceeded not only to strike out of the draft all the Court's other objections but also to qualify the abolition by adding the words “ for the present ”,<sup>1</sup> as well as a further passage in which he made it appear that expense was the *only* reason that the scheme could not be sanctioned.<sup>2</sup>

He wrote to Scott on 20th January, 1803, a year later :—

“ When I see that, by the modifications I introduced into the dispatch of January, 1802, I have furnished arguments to Lord Wellesley in support of the continuance of the collegiate institution which it was the object of that dispatch to abolish, I own I am rather better reconciled to myself.”<sup>3</sup>

The amended dispatch gave Wellesley his cue for reply. He protested<sup>4</sup> that the end of the war had seen the end also of financial crisis. There was no “ scarcity of money ”. Public credit was *not* depressed. The investments of Bengal and Madras had been liberally allotted and it was not proposed to reduce them. After the initial expenditure of about 9 lakhs of rupees the annual cost of the College

<sup>1</sup> Written into para. 10 of the draft in red ink. Ibid., f. 254.

<sup>2</sup> “ And we cannot dismiss this subject without repeating our high approbation of the public spirit and conspicuous talents of the Marquess Wellesley in the conception and arrangement of a plan which under other circumstances of the Company's finances we should have thought deserving of the most serious consideration.” Added to the draft in red ink. Ibid., f. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Dartmouth to Scott, 20th January, 1803 (Phillips, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 414).

<sup>4</sup> Letter of 5th August, 1802, copied in *Home Misc.*, 487, ff. 263-353.

would be about 4 lakhs, and of this about Rs 70,000 were represented by charges that would in any case have been incurred. For the remainder of this annual cost he had provided by reviving the Town Duties and Government Customs, which had already produced an amount greater than that against which they had been set.<sup>1</sup> He intended to defray part of the initial expense by applying to the College 3 lakhs of rupees which had, in fact, been left for the poor of Calcutta, Lucknow, and Chandernagore under the will of the late General Claude Martin.<sup>2</sup>

Since the Court had approved the objects of the College, and based their objections on the grounds of expense only, he argued, and since he had been able to show that any alternative to it would cost more than the College itself, he might have been thought wise to have suspended the execution of the Court's order. He had not done so. Instead, "as an act of necessary submission," he had passed an Order in Council abolishing the College. It would be finally closed by 31st December, 1803.

This was to allow time for a settlement of disagreements in England. Dartmouth had been succeeded at the Board of Control by Castlereagh, a man of more personal prestige (since he held a seat in the Cabinet, which Dartmouth had not) and more determined to please. On 22nd April, 1803, shortly after Wellesley's reply had been received, Castlereagh wrote to the Chairs to suggest that the College should be kept in being until "we have a satisfactory substitute".<sup>3</sup> Six days later he wrote to Wellesley:—

"you will receive very shortly orders from the Court... suspending their former directions for the abolition of the College of Fort William. . . . This will restore the whole to the footing on which it stood previously to the dispatch of January, 1802".<sup>4</sup>

On 22nd June, 1803, the Board Minutes refer to:—

"the favourable change that has taken place in the prospects of the Company since the orders for abolition were sent out, and as no doubt exists for the necessity of a system of instruction in the Native Languages for the Company's Civil Servants, the Board are of opinion that under these circumstances the College of Fort William

<sup>1</sup> These duties, the Court noted in a letter to the Board of 1st July, 1803, had originally been abolished by Cornwallis "on account of their injurious effects on commerce". Ibid., f. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Copied extracts of the will are to be found in *Home Misc.*, 488, ff. 165-180.

<sup>3</sup> *Home Misc.*, 504, f. 349.

<sup>4</sup> Castlereagh to Wellesley, 28th April, 1803 (Martin, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 379).

should continue to subsist . . . until it can be ascertained whether distinct Institutions at the respective Presidencies can be advantageously and economically adopted".<sup>1</sup>

On the same day William Broderick, Secretary to the Board, wrote formally to the Chairs to this effect and enclosed a suggested draft with his letter.<sup>2</sup>

The Court were not at all prepared to accept this suggestion, however. The establishment, they told the Board in a letter of 1st July,<sup>3</sup> had been a challenge to their authority. Were they to re-establish the College :—

“in all its primary magnitude . . . it must degrade the Court in the eyes of those whom they are expected to govern”.

Writers would do better to pursue their liberal studies at home ; it was inadvisable to educate in Bengal writers destined for either of the other presidencies where, indeed, the Court were prepared to establish separate seminaries that should combine instruction with discipline and Christian guidance. Fort William College, its expenses drastically reduced, might be continued as a seminary for the Bengal Presidency only.

Through July and August, 1803, the battle continued.<sup>4</sup> The Board were prepared to give way only to the extent of excepting the writers from the subordinate presidencies from the scope of the College. The Court pointed out that the Board were not competent, under the terms of the 1784 and amending Acts, to force them to increase their civil establishment and thus involve their shareholders in an unwanted expense. On this point both parties took advice, and both were reassured of the legality of their respective positions. The Board were informed that their appropriate course would be to obtain a writ of *mandamus* to force the Court to send the draft as a dispatch. The Court might well have fought this to the point of an appeal to the Privy Council. Castlereagh accordingly proposed to introduce a Declaratory Bill into the Commons ; such a Bill would make plain the Board's right to make what changes in the civil establishment they should decide to be necessary. In the face of this threat, the Court gave way. The draft was dispatched on 2nd September, 1803.

<sup>1</sup> *Board Minutes*, Vol. 2, f. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Home Misc.*, 487, ff. 379–386. It was not usual for the Board to initiate drafts in this manner, though they might suggest that a draft should be made.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 391–428.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 428–556.



It contained the provisos, however, that writers from the subordinate presidencies were not to attend the College and that no such charges were to be incurred as might tend to give permanence to the establishment. These instructions were acknowledged in a public letter from the Governor-General of 5th June, 1805, announcing economies that would bring the annual charge of the College from Rs 338,988 to Rs 207,660.<sup>1</sup> On 21st May, 1806, the Court communicated to India the intelligence that a college had been founded in England for the education of young men destined for the service, and desired that instruction given at the College of Fort William should be restricted to the native languages.<sup>2</sup>

The new establishment was the College of Hertford, which was later removed to Haileybury, two miles outside the town. With its establishment the Company for the first time fully assumed the responsibility of educating its servants for government.

## (2)

The English establishment was opened in Hertford Castle in February, 1806, and the move to its own buildings took place in 1809. At first a preparatory school was attached to the College, but this was abolished in 1818.<sup>3</sup> The teaching staff consisted of a principal and professors of (a) mathematics and natural philosophy, (b) classical and general literature, (c) history and political economy, (d) general policy and the laws of England, (e) Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani literature, (f) Hindu literature and the history of Asia. The Bishop of London accepted the office of College visitor and a special visitor was appointed for the oriental department. *Munshis* were engaged in India and shipped to England,<sup>4</sup> and old records and

<sup>1</sup> *Home Misc.*, 489, ff. 7-28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 65-70.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, ed. F. C. Danvers (Constable, 1894). From the Introduction, pp. 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> They were allowed free board and lodging with a salary of not more than £500 per annum, *Bengal Despatches*, Vol. 49, ff. 457-8, 7th September, 1808, paras. 6-8. (In fact, the Bengal Government had engaged a certain Abdul Ali to teach at the College on a salary of £600 per annum. The Court pointed out that this was £100 more than the professors themselves received and that, reckoning free commons and quarters into the amount, £500 would be quite enough.) See also *Public Letters From Madras*, Vol. 4, ff. 244-6, letter of 10th January, 1812, paras. 84-5. The Madras Government asked that students for Madras should study Sanscrit (which is a base for Tamil and Telegu) and be given the option of studying either Persian or Hindustani. Telegu was, in fact, taught at Haileybury from 1825, Hindi and Marathi from 1827.

public documents familiarized students with the style and form of official correspondence in Indian administration.<sup>1</sup> Parents or guardians of the students paid, twice yearly, fees of a hundred guineas a year,<sup>2</sup> and it was decided that time spent at Haileybury should count for purposes of seniority as if it had been spent in India.<sup>3</sup> At first it was possible for clever students to pass out from the College in a year, but by 1839 two years' residence was required of every one.<sup>4</sup>

The Charter Renewal Act of 1813 confirmed that no writers might be sent to India who had not qualified at the College.<sup>5</sup> But already there was opposition to this new system of educating the Company's servants. In a speech before the House of Lords on 9th April, 1813, Lord Grenville suggested that the Company should rather :—

“ chuse the young men who are destined for the Civil Service by free competition and public examination from our great schools.” Instead of being formed into an exclusive class the Company's writers ought to receive “ an education purely English ”.<sup>6</sup> He was answered in a pamphlet by the Rev. T. R. Malthus, then Professor of History and Economics at Haileybury,<sup>7</sup> and the points of view of the two of them may stand as archetypes of the two extreme views about the establishment.

The opponents of the College wished to substitute for it a form of public examination. Haileybury, they argued, was expensive to maintain. Expulsion from it—even for some quite trifling offence as, it was alleged, refusing to “ peach ” on a friend—could destroy the career of some quite worthy young man intended for the service ; besides, to give this sort of power to the College authorities lessened the patronage of the Court. Education at Haileybury was not compatible with the duties required of a writer :—

<sup>1</sup> *Bengal Despatches*, Vol. 48, ff. 295-6, 2nd March, 1808, para. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Home Misc.*, 79, ff. 684-5. Extract from the Court Minutes of 14th January, 1806.

<sup>3</sup> *Bengal Despatches*, Vol. 48, ff. 201-6, 26th February, 1808, para. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*. From the Memoir by Sir Monier Monier-Williams, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> 53 George III, c. 155, sections 44-6.

<sup>6</sup> *Substance of the Speech of Lord Grenville on the Motion Made by the Marquis Wellesley in the House of Lords on Friday, the 9th of April, 1813, for the Production of Certain Papers on Indian Affairs* (London, 1813), pp. 31 and 68-9.

<sup>7</sup> *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville Occasioned by Some Observations of his Lordship on the East India Company's Establishment for the Education of their Civil Servants*, by the Rev. T. R. Malthus (London, 1813).

"Instead of sending out Writers qualified for the purposes of commerce, they prepared to invade India with an army of young Grotiuses and Puffendorfs."<sup>1</sup>

At repeated meetings of the Court of Proprietors in 1816, 1817, and 1824, attacks were made on the College, using these arguments and others akin to them.<sup>2</sup> In 1832 James Mill, himself a Secretary of the Company, giving evidence before a Select Committee of the Commons, stated his belief that the best method of recruitment would be by public examination.<sup>3</sup> The question was still before the Court in 1842 when, on 16th July, Le Bas, the principal of the College, wrote to his friend Archdeacon Hale, Master of the Charterhouse :—

"On Tuesday last the question—College or no College—came on at India House before a Special Court. We beat the adversary 2 to 1. The numbers were : Destructives six ; Conservatives twelve. . . . The gravamen was the expense."<sup>4</sup>

The proponents of the College held with Malthus :—

"... individuals who have returned from India within the last six or seven years . . . agree . . . that what has sometimes been called the New School of Writers at Calcutta is very superior indeed, both in conduct and attainments, to those who were sent out upon the old system."<sup>5</sup>

A mere proficiency test, they argued, would not guarantee the *moral* character of successful candidates, whereas at present writers could not be sent out without a certificate of good conduct from the College. There were in fact very few expulsions (though there had been riots) and, indeed, the professors complained, sometimes suspended students would be reinstated by the Directors' orders ; the disciplinary hazard to a young man's career, after all, was no greater than that suffered by a candidate for holy orders, or a student at one of the professional schools for the armed services.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Randle Jackson, speaking at a General Court on 18th December, 1816. *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. III, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 150–165, 167–190, 254–277, 368–383, 569–607 ; Vol. IV, pp. 47, 56–81, 157–179, 263–300, 378–388 ; Vol. XVII pp. 314–344, 381–420, 521–541.

<sup>3</sup> *Sessional Papers, 1831–2*, Vol. V, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Statements Respecting the East India Company With an Appeal to Facts in Refutation of the Charges Lately Brought Against it in the Court of Proprietors*, by the Rev. T. R. Malthus (London : John Murray, 1817), p. 55.

Although the struggle continued, the College's supporters continued to be victorious, and changes in organization strengthened the positions of the professors.

"For the first seven or eight years after the College was established, there was no test of any sort. . . . If a man got through without doing anything bad enough to merit expulsion, the College was obliged to give him his Certificate. . . .

"In 1813 a test in 'Orientals' was extorted from the Court to be passed at the close of the last term. In 1820 a similar final test in 'Europeans' was agreed to very reluctantly."<sup>1</sup>

The control of the Principal on College affairs was also made greater. Government had at first been by a College Council of professors. In 1838 it was by a Council of four; from 1843 by the Principal alone.

But though the position of the professors *vis-à-vis* the Court was strengthened, the position of the College itself *vis-à-vis* its antagonists was not. The report of the Select Committee of 1831-2 was not committed for or against the College. On the one hand it was noted that in spite of difficulties the College set a high standard and its graduates filled some of the most important posts in India. On the other :—

"every object contemplated by the College might have been more effectually obtained by other means."<sup>2</sup>

In 1836 Hobhouse, then President of the Board, wished to know the Court's views on the expedience of abolishing the College.<sup>3</sup> But when the Court replied that it wished to have the power of abolition, Hobhouse wrote :—

"I beg to assure the Court that I should be most happy to adopt that suggestion if I thought I could make such a proposal to Parliament without encountering very serious opposition."<sup>4</sup>

In the session of 1852-3 by the Act 17 Victoria, c. 95, the right of the Court to nominate to the College with withdrawn, and in 1854 Sir Charles Wood, then President of the Board of Control, appointed a Committee :—

"to take into consideration the subject of the examination of Candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Le Bas to Archdeacon Hale, 20th January, 1843. *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Sessional Papers, 1831-2*, Vol. IV, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of the Board of Control to the East India Company*, Vol. 11, f. 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 171.

<sup>5</sup> *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 123.

In fact a form of entry by examination had already been instituted. By the Act 3 & 4 William IV, c. 85, sections 103-7, the Directors were to nominate four times the number of expected vacancies and the required number would be selected by examination and would proceed to Haileybury. This scheme had never actually worked and in 1837 Hobhouse secured the passage of an amending bill by which the introduction of the scheme should be permissive instead of obligatory<sup>1</sup>; thereafter no more was heard of it. But Macaulay, who had been Secretary to the Board when the scheme was first introduced was now, with Lord Ashburton, Benjamin Jowett, J. G. Shaw-Lefevre, and Henry Melvill (Principal of the College) a member of the Wood Committee.

In November, 1854, the Committee's report recommended that appointment to the Indian Civil Service should be by a countrywide competition, in which tests in Sanscrit and Arabic were to carry only 750 marks out of a possible total of 6,875.<sup>2</sup> On 30th November Wood wrote to the Court to say that a Bill would be introduced for the abolition of the College, and on 16th July, 1855, by the Act 18 & 19 c. 53, it was decreed that no further students should be admitted from 25th January, 1856, and that the College should be abolished from 25th January, 1858.

As an experiment it had lasted fifty-two years. Among its graduates were Holt Mackenzie (1806-7), Henry Prinsep (1807-8), Sir G. R. Clerk (1815-17), James Thomason (1820-2), Sir Frederick Halliday (1823-4), J. R. Colvin (1823-5), Sir Charles Trevelyan (1824-5), and Lord Lawrence (1827-9). One cannot doubt that the College had a considerable influence on the Indian administration. It made of the Company's civil servants a cadre; wherever a man might be posted in India he could sure be of finding friends. It is possible that such a sense of cadre may have contributed to cutting off the sympathies of the Company's servants from those whom it was their duty to govern, but that is a speculation that lies outside the scope of this paper.

Nevertheless, although the College trained the Company's servants, it did not choose them. Nominations were always in the gift of the Court, and anyone glancing over the College List cannot fail to be struck by the recurrence of the same family names—Elphinstones,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Victoria, c. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Canon Heaviside wrote to Monier-Williams on 17th May, 1893, "H. Melvill was always out-voted." *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 124.



Colvins, Outrams, Barlows, and others—who had been active in India before the College was founded and continued to be so for long after it had been abolished.

## (3)

With the foundation of the College at Hertford it had been decided that writers should complete their purely oriental education in the Presidencies to which they were posted. Their studies there would be restricted to learning the languages of India and the regulations of government.

Bombay, the smallest of the three presidencies, was at first neglected. It was not until 1819 that the Court ordered the Bombay Government to take measures for establishing a means of instruction<sup>1</sup>; that Government suggested in reply that a College might be founded on the lines of one already established at Madras, but admitted that so far the young men had passed their examinations in Hindustani without any such aid.<sup>2</sup> But the Court forbade any new establishment; the use of *munshis*, together with the effective superintendence that might be given by the Collectors to whom the young men were posted, would be enough.<sup>3</sup> In 1824 the Bombay Government proposed to establish a permanent examining committee with a salaried secretary,<sup>4</sup> and this was approved.<sup>5</sup> When, however, in 1827, they made a suggestion that amounted to a revival of the scheme for a College—a permanent salaried establishment of *munshis* and a Secretary at a salary of Rs 800 per month<sup>6</sup>—the Court were prompt in disapproval.<sup>7</sup> So the position rested that there was no College for the Company's servants in Bombay, but promotion

<sup>1</sup> *Revenue Despatches To Bombay*, Vol. 2, ff. 171–2. Letter of 14th July, 1819, para. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Public Letters From Bombay*, Vol. 9, ff. 261–278. Letter of 29th August, 1821, paras. 59–79.

<sup>3</sup> *Public Despatches To Bombay*, Vol. 6, ff. 485–499. Letter of 11th June, 1823, paras. 2–16.

<sup>4</sup> *Public Letters From Bombay*, Vol. 10, ff. 479–483. Letter of 11th August, 1824, paras. 3–7.

*Public Despatches To Bombay*, Vol. 7, ff. 396–8. Letter of 21st September, 1825, paras. 4–6.

<sup>6</sup> *Public Letters From Bombay*, Vol. 12, ff. 224–5. Letter of 1st November, 1827, paras. 4–6.

<sup>7</sup> *Public Despatches To Bombay*, Vol. 8, ff. 692–6. Letter of 18th February, 1829, paras. 3–6.

was restricted until examinations in two languages had been passed, and each junior writer was paid a *munshi's* allowance of Rs 30 per month.

In 1802 the Directors had called on the Government of Fort St. George, at Madras, to submit a scheme of its own for the education of its junior civil servants.<sup>1</sup> In 1808 that Government had decided that writers on arrival should be put to study "one at least of the native languages".<sup>2</sup> Native teachers were to be engaged at the public expense and there were to be quarterly public examinations, which should extend to a "general knowledge connected with the affairs of the Company". When, however, the Government proposed to return to England those servants who could not qualify in the study of the native languages, the Directors forbade any such proceedings; there were some positions, they wrote, in which proficiency in the language was not essential.<sup>3</sup>

A Committee of Superintendence was instituted in January, 1812, and on 1st May a College was established at Madras by proclamation. Writers were to receive special allowances to prevent their getting into debt, and there were rewards of 1,000 pagodas for proficiency. The young men were to be freed from all public duties and put to study with specially trained *munshis*. The estimated cost of the establishment would be between three and four hundred pagodas a month.<sup>4</sup>

This establishment was sanctioned by the Court under safeguards:

"We must declare that it is our positive determination not to sanction any addition to the College establishments, nor the erection of any buildings for the accommodation of either the College or students,"

but they positively refused to allow the rewards; appointments "to those situations for which they have become qualified" would be reward enough.<sup>5</sup> When the Madras Government protested that the

<sup>1</sup> *Madras Despatches*, Vol. 29, ff. 234-5. Letter of 12th March, 1802, para. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Home Misc.* 488. "Statement of the Measures Adopted for the Education of the Company's Civil Servants." Undated. Unsigned. ff. 743-761.

<sup>3</sup> *Public Despatches To Madras*, Vol. 3, ff. 497-500. Letter of 2nd April, 1813, para. 45.

<sup>4</sup> The Proclamation is printed in *Sessional Papers, 1831-2*, Vol. 5, Appendix L, pp. 680-1. See also *Public Letters From Madras*, Vol. 4, ff. 247-257. Letter of 10th January, 1812, paras. 89-101.

<sup>5</sup> *Public Despatches To Madras*, Vol. 3, ff. 492-4. Letter a/q, paras. 42-3.

rewards would only be given to those passing out with honour<sup>1</sup> the Court gave way.

In 1829 this was the position at Madras. Of the Board of Superintendence one was a Member of Council, three held public offices, and there was a salaried secretary. The College had no professors; its examiners were translators to the Government. There was an establishment of *munshis*, each of whom was paid Rs 35 a month if unemployed, Rs 50 if instructing one student, Rs 65 if instructing two or more. Students found their own quarters; they need not even stay at the Presidency at all. The annual number of students under the Committee at any one time would be forty, about twenty qualifying annually. The total expense was about Rs 24,807 a year.<sup>2</sup> So things remained in Madras, the accent of importance remaining not on the training itself (as at Haileybury), but on the quarterly qualifying examinations.

The College of Fort William never recovered from the limitations placed on it. The land intended for its buildings at Garden Reach was given up; very soon its features of common quarters and messing disappeared, and its students were housed some in Writers' Buildings, others about Calcutta. In 1807 the offices of provost and vice-provost were abolished.<sup>3</sup>

The students were idle and contracted debts. Debt was a danger to the service. Edward Strachey in a minute of July, 1814, referred to the practice by which a native creditor would wait until his victim had reached a position of responsibility and would then demand employment for himself or his dependents.<sup>4</sup>

In 1814 Lord Minto, then Governor-General, republished the statutes of the College, with additions providing for the removal and penalization of unsatisfactory students. This, he believed, would

<sup>1</sup> *Public Letters From Madras*, Vol. 4, ff. 657-9. Letter of 31st December, 1813, para. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Sessional Papers, 1831-2*, Vol. 5, Appendix L, pp. 650-2. Prints a letter of the Civil Finance Committee dated 1st October, 1829.

<sup>3</sup> *Home Misc.*, 488, ff. 525-540. The Board had written a letter to the Court of Directors, suggesting that the Bishop and Archdeacon of Calcutta should be appointed to these two offices. The Chairs replied tartly in a letter of 5th July, 1814, that the offices had been abolished in 1807. "The College is now under the gratuitous management and control of some of the most respectable members of the Presidency."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 541-603. Edward Strachey was at that time Second Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Dacca.

result in such reform as would justify maintaining the College.<sup>1</sup> It was not successful, however. In 1825 the Bengal Government itself suggested that the College might well be abolished altogether, and that junior civil servants might be sent up-country as soon as possible after their arrival.<sup>2</sup>

By 1830 it was the Board of Control which had become interested in abolishing the College. The draft of a despatch to Bengal of 20th July, in which the Court, though expressing its dissatisfaction with affairs at the College, yet allows that the establishment should be maintained, has the allowance struck out and orders for abolition substituted.<sup>3</sup> But the Bengal Government had changed its mind. The experiment of distributing students in the *mofussil* had failed ; those students were even more backward in their studies than those who remained at the College, since they were without superintendence.<sup>4</sup> It was shown statistically that, allegations of slackness or no, students at the College seemed to pass their language examinations as swiftly in 1830 as they had done in 1811. But, although the Governor-General would have preferred to suspend the Court's orders, Metcalfe, the Vice-President, and members of Council felt that the orders were peremptory and were grounded not on practice but on principle. So that it was decided (with Bentinck concurring reluctantly from his headquarters on tour) to abolish the College with effect from 1st June, 1831. Students were to be placed under the superintendence of their superiors in up-country stations. They were to pass a language test by the end of a year from their arrival in India and, if they had not done so by the end of fifteen months, were to be dismissed from the service. In this decision the Select Committee of 1831-2 was to concur :—

“(The College) has been useful in providing books, by which the acquisition of the Native Languages has been greatly facilitated, but beyond this it is disadvantageous to the Public Service. . . .

“It appears that the Study of Languages is most readily promoted by sending the young men, directly on their arrival, into the

<sup>1</sup> *Public Letters From Bengal*, Vol. 6, ff. 320-9. Letter of 23rd June, 1814, paras. 312-325.

<sup>2</sup> *Home Misc.*, 488, ff. 743-761. “Statement” a/q. The suggestion is from an opinion by the Accountant-General.

<sup>3</sup> *Bengal Despatches*, Vol. 113, ff. 891-910. Letter of 20th July, 1830, paras. 3-13.

<sup>4</sup> *Sessional Papers, 1831-2*, Vol. 5, Appendix L, pp. 660-675. The correspondence between the Governor-General and the Council in Calcutta, together with other papers relevant to the closing days of the College are printed in this Appendix.

Provinces, and attaching them to some public office as was formerly the practice."<sup>1</sup>

Compromised almost from its inception the Marquess Wellesley's grand design ended, as the design that so largely replaced it was to end in indecision, recrimination, and an atmosphere of failure.

In addition to the references made to secondary sources, to published documents, and to newspapers, I have referred to the following manuscript sources :—

From the British Museum :—

*Additional Manuscripts*, Vols. 29177 and 37275.

All other MSS. to which reference is made are from the following volumes in the India Office Library :—

*European MSS.*, F. 18/1 (this volume is at present on loan to the Botany Library of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington).

*Home Miscellaneous Series*, Vols. 79, 487-9, 504.

*Board Minutes*, Vol. 2.

*Letters From the Board of Control to the East India Company*, Vol. 11.

*Bengal Despatches*, Vols. 48, 49, 113.

*Letters From Bengal*, Vol. 40..

*Public Letters From Bengal*, Vol. 6.

*Public Despatches to Madras*, Vols. 3, 29.

*Public Letters From Madras*, Vol. 4.

*Revenue Despatches to Bombay*, Vol. 2.

*Public Despatches to Bombay*, Vols. 6, 7, 8.

*Public Letters From Bombay*, Vols. 9, 10, 12.

<sup>1</sup> *Sessional Papers, 1831-2*, Vol. IV, p. 24.



## Turkish Ghost Words

By GERARD CLAUSON

(PLATE III)

THIS is a fuller version of the paper which I read at the recent International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge. It has been prepared in compliance with several requests from those who heard it for something on paper which they could study at leisure.

For the last two and a half years I have been engaged in compiling a historical dictionary of Turkish ; it cannot be completed for a good long time to come if, indeed, I am ever able to complete it, and it does seem useful that I should at any rate publish a paper on one particular aspect of the matter which has emerged from the work so far done.

My principal working tools are a large collection of dictionaries and indices of Turkish words in various dialects, together with the basic texts on which they rest. The astonishing thing is that nearly all of these books contain numbers, some more and some less, of what I have called "ghost words", that is words which either

- (1) never existed at all,
- or (2) never had the meanings ascribed to them,
- or (3) are foreign words which were never really used in Turkish,
- or (4) are genuine Turkish words but never occurred in the dialect to which they are attributed.

Let me say at once that I do not suggest that there is anything improper, or indeed unusual, about making a few mistakes of this kind, particularly in such a difficult subject as Turkish etymology. Even the greatest scholars have made some. Very often they are due simply to insufficient knowledge, which it is the duty of us and our successors to rectify. But it is important that mistakes, when discovered, should be corrected, for experience shows that once a ghost word gets into one dictionary, it is repeated in subsequent ones. Until these ghost words are identified and unmasked, they will remain to mislead future generations of Turkish etymologists. Indeed, some may already have done practical damage to the Turkish language. For a good many years past attempts have been made in Turkey to purge the language of foreign elements and revive genuine old Turkish words which have fallen into disuse. These attempts have aroused violent controversies in Turkey, in which it would be improper and indelicate for foreign scholars to take part.

But we can at any rate help all participants to establish some of the facts round which the controversy rages, and that is one purpose of this paper. Not even the most fervent advocate of "pure Turkish" wishes to "revive" in modern Turkish words which never existed at all, except in some disordered imagination; nor presumably is he interested to press the claims of one foreign word to be used in preference to another.

Finding out how ghost words have got into the dictionaries is a most fascinating occupation; it is nearly always the result of a mistake of some kind, and hunting down the mistakes can be just as exciting as a good detective story. Deliberate invention is practically unknown. In saying this, of course, I do not mean that a great many words have not been invented in recent years in what I call Republican Turkish (the most convenient name in English for the Turkish used in Turkey since the adoption of the present official Turkish alphabet) and in the various Turkish dialects used in the Soviet Union, but these words cannot be called "ghost words" when they are made of genuine Turkish roots and genuine Turkish suffixes; they are merely neologisms. But it is a known physiological fact that ghosts cannot breed, so a word which is made out of a ghost root like *epit-*, to which I shall refer below, or with a suffix like *-sal/-sel*, which was never a real Turkish suffix, still remains a ghost, even if one of its parents is genuinely Turkish.

There is only one class of ghost words which may well be deliberate invention. It is known that when Şeyh Süleyman Eff. was compiling his *Çağatay-Osmanlı Dictionary* he was so anxious to make it complete that he offered small monetary rewards for previously unknown "Çağatay" words, and it is hard to believe that some unscrupulous people did not cash in on this and provide him with bogus words. I have never seen the original book, but I. Kunos's abbreviation and German translation of it (Budapest, 1902) (quoted hereafter as "Kunos") contains a small hard core of words for which it seems impossible to find any etymological or other explanation. If such a word cannot be found earlier than Kunos it may well be a word invented to qualify for the reward.

#### FOREIGN GHOSTS (CLASS 3)

This is a relatively unimportant class, so I will get it out of the way first.

Foreign words have, of course, been used in Turkish from the

earliest period that we know. Some have been identified only recently. For example, until a few years ago *ton/don* "clothing" would have been considered as about as genuine an *öz Türk* word as you could find. Now it is known to be just the Khotanese word *ṭauna* (same meaning). No doubt there are plenty more to be discovered and some may never be discovered at all. For instance, I am personally convinced that *beg* "tribal, or clan, chief", prima facie a typical *öz Türk* word, is really Chinese. It seems to me more than a mere coincidence that the Chinese word *po* (see Plate III),<sup>1</sup> which means exactly the same thing as *beg*, was in the early centuries of the Christian era pronounced *pig* or *big*. (The word itself does not occur in the Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese texts published in this *Journal* by Prof. F. W. Thomas and myself in 1926 and 1927, but homophones do, and that is how they are spelt.) Some foreign words which are now known to be in fact foreign are still being advocated by the enthusiasts for "pure Turkish" as substitutes for other foreign words. For example, in place of *dunya* "this world", an Arabic word which has been used in Turkish certainly since the middle of the eleventh century (it is common in the *Kutadḡu Bilig*), they recommend the use of a Sogdian word *acun* (originally *ajun*) which was introduced into Turkish in the eighth century by Manichæan missionaries. When I talk of foreign words as "ghosts" I am not thinking of words of this kind, which seem to me as much Turkish as words of Latin, Greek, and even Turkish origin now used in English are English.

What I am thinking of primarily are certain Mongol words, which are included in Mirza Mahdi Xan's Çağatay-Persian dictionary, the *Sanlax*, and clearly labelled as Mongol and not Turkish words. He seems to have included them not because they were ever used in Turkish, but because they were the basis of Mongol proper names or were mentioned as Mongol words in some Turkish text. How they got into the standard dictionaries is a curious story. The *Sanlax* is by far the best Çağatay dictionary but unfortunately it is very rare. The best MS. is one in the London School of Oriental and African Studies (of which I have had a photograph made for my own use) and there seem to be only two more in England. I have heard rumours, but nothing definite, about copies elsewhere. Neither Pavet de Courteille nor Şeyh Süleyman nor Radloff had ever seen

<sup>1</sup> To facilitate the type-setting I have assembled all the words in non-Latin script on a single Plate.

a copy (Pavet de Courteille—hereafter referred to as “P. de C.”—mentions it in the Preface to his *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental* as work of supreme value and exceptional rarity which he could not get hold of) and they all had to use later abridgments like the *Xulāṣa-yi ‘Abbāsī*, mentioned by P. de C., and the *Risāla-yi Fadlū’llah*, Calcutta, 1825 (the so-called “Calcutta Dictionary”). These abridgments abound in errors and miscopyings, and in particular they omit the vital information in the *Saylax* that certain words are “Mongol” and others “Rūmi”, that is in effect “Osmanlı”, with the result that all these words have found their way into later dictionaries as “Çağatay”. Some of the Mongol ones have even got into the *Türkçe Sözlük* (quoted hereafter as “T.S.”), which was published by the Türk Dil Kurumu in İstanbul in 1945 as an authoritative list of pure Turkish words.

These Mongol ghosts are quite different from the rather numerous Mongol words which have been fully naturalized in various Turkish dialects. The problem of the relationship between Turkish and Mongol is much too complicated to discuss here. I am not myself one of those who believe that the two languages have a common ancestor. It is, of course, possible, but the words for numbers, ordinary actions (giving, taking, sitting, standing, etc.), and ordinary things (parts of the body, etc.) are so completely different that it seems to me to be very improbable. On the other hand there have been at least three periods when massive importations of Mongol words into Turkish occurred, and indeed vice versa. First we know that in the dawn of Turkish history Turkish and Mongol tribes were living side by side in Eastern Asia in a state of relatively peaceful coexistence. During this period some interchange of vocabulary must have taken place. For example, *irbis* “the Siberian panther, *Felis irbis*” occurs in Uyğur as early as the eighth or perhaps ninth century (in the *Sehiz Yükmek*). It also occurs in Mongol (*Kovalevski*, p. 324). With its final -s it looks more Mongol than Turkish, but who can say? Again *itavun* “a partridge” occurs even in contemporary Anatolian (*Derleme Dergisi*, p. 800); by its shape it must be a Mongol word, but it may well have been used a long time in Turkish; it is listed in the *Saylax* as a Mongol word but, as usual, is shown in P. de C. and Radloff as “Çağatay”.

The second big mass of Mongol words came into Turkish during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries when Cingis Ka’an and his successors ruled over many Turkish tribes. Most of these words are

military terms like **karawul**, **herewül/erewül**, and **yasawul**, or administrative terms like **alban** "head-tax". There are plenty of them in *Çağatay* and its successors, and some in *Kıpçak*.

The third big mass is to be found in the Siberian dialects, Altaian, Xakas, and so on. Contact with Mongol speakers continued to a much later date in these areas and the Mongol component in the language is correspondingly greater.

What I regard as Mongol "ghosts" are such words as the following, which are only a small selection of the whole:—

**öbüçin** "disease" (*Sağlax*; P. de C., p. 40; Kunos, p. 153; Radloff, i, 1313 (in Mongol *ebeçin*, Kovalevski, p. 177).

**ötege** "bear (animal)", *Sağlax*; P. de C., p. 41; Kunos, p. 155 (**ötke**, Şeyh Sul. **ayi/ayik**, translated by Kunos "bear: sober"!), Radloff, i, 1268 (**ötke**) (in Mongol *ötege*, Kovalevski, p. 517).

**ödür** "day", *Sağlax*; P. de C., p. 155; Kunos, p. 157 (**udur**) (in Mongol *edür*, Kovalevski, p. 201).

**axsawurğa** "a belt for a quiver", *Sağlax*; P. de C., p. 8; Radloff, i, 138 (**axsawurğa** and **axsadurğa**!) (in Mongol *axsarğa/axsağa*, Kovalevski, p. 134); Kunos, p. 6, has the same word as **ağavurka** which is a "double ghost", as he translates it "a kind of hut made of timber and brushwood", a meaning which must have been transferred from some other word, probably **alaçuk**; this is one of many examples of the omission of a badly written nasta'liq **s** in these dictionaries.

**eçige** "father", in P. de C., p. 99; Kunos, p. 81 (**içke**) is exceptional, in that it goes back not to the *Sağlax* but to a statement in Abu'l-Gazi's *Şacaratü'l-Atrāk* that the Mongol word for "father" is **eçige**.

Perhaps the worst case of all is **ülçey** (Kovalevski, p. 534), mentioned in the *Sağlax* as a Mongol word properly meaning "good fortune, blessing", which was used as a proper name for Mongol princesses and as the base from which the name of the Emperor **Ülçeytü** was made; on the basis of this entry it was listed as a *Çağatay* noun meaning "good fortune" in P. de C., p. 76, and Kunos, p. 150 (**olçay**); from there it passed to the *Tarama Dergisi*, published by the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti in 1934, and from there to T.S., p. 447 (**olçay**), as a recommended substitute for **baht**, **talik**, and **ikbal**.

Many other purely Mongol words have found their way into



Republican Turkish by the same route, including some which are now very common like **kurultay** and **sayın**.

#### WORDS ASCRIBED TO THE WRONG DIALECT (CLASS 4)

This, too, is a relatively unimportant class and can be disposed of fairly briefly. It is, of course, often impossible to say categorically that a particular word was *never* used in a particular dialect, but there are many cases where it can be demonstrated that the ascription was based on a misapprehension and has no evidential value. There are three main categories of such words.

The first are those which are listed in the *Saylax* as "Rumi", i.e. Osmanlı, words but have found their way, via the abridgments into P. de C. and Şeyh Süleyman and thence into Radloff as "Çağatay" words. Very often they can be identified by their non-Çağatay spelling, even without reference to the *Saylax*. **Dede** "grandfather" and **arvana** "female camel", spelt as in Plate III, No. 2, are cases in point; there are many more.

The second are those labelled in Radloff and other authorities with the debatable name "Uygur".

It is a great misfortune that texts in what was believed to be the Uygur script became known to scholars about a hundred years before the first genuine Uygur MSS. were discovered, and that it was further supposed that any texts in this script must necessarily be in the Uygur dialect. In fact both of these suppositions are wrong. The script was, indeed, derived from Uygur, but it was, in fact, the Mongol official alphabet devised on the orders of Cingis Ka'an in the circumstances described in the Chinese histories and used by him and his successors, originally for Mongol and later for Turkish (mainly Çağatay) when that became the official language of the successor states. I know that some Turkish scholars, e.g. Dr. Arat, disagree with this view, but it seems to me not only inherently probable but also demonstrable. On the title page of the first discovered MS. of the *Atabatü'l-Hakayik*, that published by Necib Asim and subsequently reproduced by Dr. Arat in his admirable critical edition of that work, there is a note in Arabic that the book is "in the Mongol language and the Mongol script, translated into Turkish". The reference to the Mongol language is, of course, nonsense, but that to the Mongol script seems to me correct.

The majority of the texts in this script are ordinary Çağatay; two, the Vienna MS. of the *Kutadğü Bilig*, and the *Atabatü'l-Hakayik*

are in Xakani (in both these cases there are also MSS. in Arabic script); and one or two, e.g. the *Oğuz Nama*, of which the best edition is that by Bang and Rahmeti (i.e. Dr. Arat), and one of the two MSS. of the *Muhabbat Nama* of Xorezmi are in Western dialects, probably Oğuz or Kıpçak.

The only genuine "Uyğur" words in Radloff are those taken from the late (fourteenth century) Uyğur-Chinese Dictionary.

The third category are the words ascribed to Çağatay because they are included in the vocabulary to Vambery's *Çağataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig, 1867 (quoted hereafter as "Vambery"). Some of these Vambery himself specifically ascribed to other dialects (Chinese Turkestan, Kazak, Xiva, Xokand, etc.); others are taken from the abridgments of the *Saylax* and are easily identifiable as such; the rest seem to be nineteenth-century Özbek (Uzbek), like the majority of the texts in this book.

#### PURE GHOSTS AND GHOST MEANINGS (CLASSES 1 AND 2)

I will deal with these two classes together, for the sake of convenience. The main sources of these words in a rough order of ascending magnitude are:—

- A. Misunderstandings or misreadings of words in the Runic script.
- B. Misunderstandings or misreadings of words in early Uyğur texts.
- C. Misunderstandings or misreadings of the Vienna MS. of the *Kutadğū Bilig*.
- D. Misunderstandings or misreadings of words in Arabic script.

There are many cases falling under C which really involve D, that is cases in which the scribe of the Vienna MS. misread the Arabic MS. which he was transcribing in the Mongol official alphabet. This MS., like the two surviving MSS. of that work in Arabic script, must have been rather short of diacritical points (*nugtas*), and the scribe, who was clearly unfamiliar with the Xakani dialect, which had passed out of use before he was born, very often when confronted with an unpointed or underpointed word, supplied the wrong ones. For example, he generally writes **yayıġ**, "fickle", the standard epithet of **dawlat** "fortune", as **tatıġ**, **yatıġ**, or **tayıġ**, seldom as **yayıġ**. Now that we have Dr. Arat's admirable critical edition of that text (İstanbul, 1947) it

is child's play to spot this kind of ghost word and see how it came into existence. But some of them have travelled a long way; from thence to Radloff, thence to the *Tarama Dergisi* and, sometimes, thence to T.S. The *Tarama Dergisi* also picked up a few ghost words from the vocabulary to Vambéry's pioneering and extremely inaccurate partial edition of the *Kutadğu Bilig* (*Uigurische Sprachmonumente*, Innsbruck, 1870).

Ghost words derived from the Arabic script (Category D) come from a wider range of sources. The most copious immediate sources are the *Tarama Dergisi* and Şeyh Süleyman, with considerable additions by Kunos, but even Radloff is not free from errors of this kind. Nearly all the Çağatay ghost words, which form the major part of Category D, go back to the abridgments of the *Sanlax*. One or two Xakani ghost words go back to Brockelmann's and Atalay's otherwise admirable Indices to Kaşğari's *Divānu 'l-Luğati't-Türk*.

#### A. GHOST WORDS FROM THE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS AND DOCUMENTS

This is a small group. These texts have nearly all been edited more than once and most of the ghost words have been eliminated from the later editions, which, unlike the earlier, were prepared after the rediscovery of Kaşğari.

Most of the surviving ghost words are merely what I consider to be misspellings, mainly **b** for **v** and **d** for **ḍ**. These may seem at first to be trivial, but they have been made the foundation for what I consider to be false theories regarding the history of Turkish phonetics. It is now generally agreed that the Runic alphabet is based mainly on some form of the Aramaic alphabet used to write some Iranian dialect (perhaps, as Prof. Tolstov has suggested, Khorezmian), but from this the logical conclusion has never been drawn that the Turks must have used the Aramaic letters as the Iranians used them, that is in some cases with two phonetic values, i.e. *beth* to represent both **b** and **v**, *daleth* to represent both **d** and **ḍ**, *pe* to represent both **p** and **f** and so on; and yet there is ample evidence to show that this was so. First the Runic **k** with back vowels is taken not from *qoph* but from *kheth*. Second the Iranian word reproduced in Plate III, No. 3, which occurs in one of the Toyok documents (*Eski Türk Yazıları*, ii, 177) and is admitted to mean "praise", could never have been pronounced *ābrīn*, it must have been *āvīn*, and is the modern Persian word *āfrīn*. Third the phrase

in Plate III, No. 4, taken from the list of foreign countries which sent delegations to the funeral of Elteriş Kağan, must have been intended to represent **Afar Forom**, i.e. the Avars and Rome (Byzantium). Even when it had been established that this was the meaning of the phrase, the final step from **Apar Porom** to **Afar Forom** was not taken although the former is an obvious phonetic monstrosity. And so it seems to me an unnecessary complication to transcribe the words in Plate III, No. 5, as **sub** "water" and **Tabğaç** "the Toba Dynasty" (hence simply "China") and to base on this a theory that the sound which was **v** in the late eighth century (the early Uyğur script texts) was **b** in the early eighth century.

It is unfortunate that Malov in preparing his admirable edition of the Kül Tegin inscription for his chrestomathy, *Pamyatniki Drevnetyurkskoy Pismennosti* (Moscow, 1951) was unable to use the edition of the same inscription in Dr. von Gabain's *Altürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941) and has thus perpetuated a few earlier errors corrected by her, for example, the impossible transcription and translation of Plate III, No. 6, as **alkadımız** "we dedicated" instead of **alkdımız** "we completed" (Kül Tegin's tomb) in the last line of the inscription, but these are small matters.

The Yenisei inscriptions are a different matter. Not all the obvious errors and obscurities which they contain can be blamed on the editors. There is ample internal evidence that the masons who carved some of the inscriptions were unable to understand the drafts from which they were working and that the actual composers of the inscriptions were sometimes illiterate men who merely took a few phrases or words from earlier inscriptions and strung them together to form what looked like an epitaph. (The Ongin inscription from the Orkhon area is a similar pastiche from earlier sources.) Malov, in his *Yeniseyskaya Pismennost Tyurkov* (Moscow, 1952), has produced much the best edition so far available, but if every word in his Index was included in the dictionaries, it would add a monstrous brood of ghosts to them.

The *Tarama Dergisi* includes a few complete ghosts professedly taken from "the Orkhon Inscriptions", e.g. **ad-** "to subjugate" (*rām et.*, i, 649, and *tahakkum et.*, i, 727), and **edir-** "to direct, guide" (*irşat et.*, i, 385). There is no trace of these words, or anything like them, in the inscriptions.

Thomsen's edition of the *Irk Bitig* in 1912 was a masterpiece of scholarship, considering that it was published before the rediscovery

of Kaşğari; Orkun's edition in *Eski Türk Yazıtları* (İstanbul, 1939) and Malov's in his *Pamyatniki Drevneyurkskoy Pismennosti* have made great improvements, but even Malov's edition still harbours some obvious ghosts.

Para. 17 starts off: "A riding horse got tired in an **ön** place." **Ön** is not "first", as Thomsen translated it, or "sunny" (Orkun), or even "eastern" (Malov); it means "deserted", a sense which fits the context perfectly. Prof. Bang, in his "Turcica" (*MVAG.*), 1917, p. 286, collected most of the scanty Uyğur evidence which proved the existence of an **ön** with this meaning.

Para. 23 starts **oğlan kekük tezegin bultı**: (the colon indicates a long vowel). Thomsen translated "a boy found a cuckoo (?) wandering about (?)". Orkun, on the basis of Kaşğari's entry "**kekük** means *zummar*", corrected "cuckoo" to "golden eagle"; Malov found in Yudahin's dictionary an obsolete Kirğiz word **tezgin** meaning "rudder" and substituted "a golden eagle's rudder, i.e. his tail". But the word **tezek** is a very familiar and earthy one in Turkish. What the boy found was just "a golden eagle's dung", a subject of interesting folk-lore in many countries.

Para. 38 starts **kamış ara: kalını:ş tenri: unamadık avı:nu: katun bolzum**. Malov's translation, "she lived among the reeds. As heaven was unfavourable, let the queen be a consolation (i.e. let her decide)," though better than the earlier ones, still misses the point. Kaşğari says **avı:nu:** means "concubine", and the sentence really means "let the concubine who lived in a reed-bed without the favour of heaven become a queen".

Para. 47 starts **er ömeleyü: barmı:ş tenri:ke so:ku:şmı:s**. Thomsen translated it, "A man went crawling and encountered a god," and the others have blindly followed him. Thomsen had found a Tarançı word **ömüle-**, meaning "to crawl" (primarily of an infant) in Radloff, and without thinking of its etymology assumed that it occurred here. But the Tarançı word is merely the last stage of phonetic decay of a word which in the eighth century and for several centuries after that was pronounced **emgekle-** and meant "to do something with great effort" and hence, of a child "to crawl". Kaşğari again supplies the answer, he does not list **ömele:** but he does list **öme:** (or **üme:** ?), *al-dayf al-nāzil fī'l-bayt* "a guest who comes to stay with one", and **ömele:** is obviously a Denominal Verb from it; the sentence means "a man went on a round of visits and encountered a god".



There are one or two other errors in the existing texts of the *Irk Bitig*, but also some passages which are obviously corrupt. The mere fact that the essential information whether an omen is good or bad is frequently omitted is sufficient evidence that we have here not the author's original MS. but an imperfect copy.

### B. GHOST WORDS FROM GENUINE UYGÜR TEXTS

It is fatally easy to misread a text in Uyğur script, particularly a late one, and I do not suppose that anyone has ever edited one with complete accuracy. The traps are innumerable, but on the whole the loop which appears as part of the letters **b/f/p/v**, **d/d/t**, and **o/u/ö/ü** seems to be the most successful one. To save space I give here only a few specimen ghosts from this source.

In line 6 of the first "peg inscription" published in F. W. K. Müller's "Zwei Pfahlschriften . . ." (*APAW.*, Berlin, 1915) occurs the word in Plate III, No. 7. Radloff first edited this text (as Müller pointed out with many inaccuracies, it is horribly illegible) and read the word **evir**. He connected it with the verb **evir**- "to surround", which is etymologically impossible, and translated it "surroundings". Müller saw that it should be read **evin** and translated "seed" (a word well authenticated from other dialects), but somehow both forms and meanings succeeded in surviving side by side in the dictionaries. The *Tarama Dergisi* makes three entries of the word, **evir** "surroundings" (*daire*, i, 183) and both **evin** and **evir** "seed" (*dane*, i, 184), and from there **evir** found its way into T.S., p. 193, as a preferred alternative to *daire*.

**ebiri** is listed in Radloff, i, 932, on the authority of the Uyğur Chinese dictionary as meaning "virtue" (Chinese *tê*); this is undoubtedly an error for **edrem** a common metathesis of **erdem**, which really does mean that. See Plate III, Nos. 8 and 9, for the two spellings.

**alaqu-** in Pelliot's Uyğur text of the Tale of the Two Brothers (*T'oung Pao*, 1914) and **alaqur-** in the *Suvarnaprabhāsa* (St. Petersburg, 1913 ff.) are both misreadings of **alaqađ-** "to be exhausted, get weak" written without the third **a**, see Plate III, Nos. 10-12.

### C. GHOST WORDS FROM THE VIENNA KUTADĞU BILIG

There are dozens of these in Radloff, but as the references to page and line are given there is no difficulty in unmasking them by

looking up the passages quoted in Dr. Arat's edition. However, I give one particularly choice specimen below. It is more difficult to trace their history when they come ultimately from the vocabulary to Vambery's *Uigurische Sprachmonumente*, since there the references are either wrong or nonexistent.

**Epit-** "to create something incomparably beautiful" in T.S., p. 184, is a case in point. It was taken from the *Tarama Dergisi* (*ibda et.*, i, 337, and four other references), where it is recorded as an "Uygur" word, taken from the *Büyük Türk Luğati*, and supported by the quotation **epitli bayatım** "my God, the Creator". This looked very like a quotation from Vambery's *Uigurische Sprachmonumente*, so I turned it up there. It was obvious that an adjective in -li could not occur in the *Kutadğu Bilig* and that **epitli**, as an adjective, could not be derived from a verb **epit-**; it is only fair to Vambery to say that he never suggested that it was. The word is a misprint. In fact Vambery records several words beginning with **epi . . .**, all of them ghosts. Among them is **epikli** [*sic*], translated "artistic, creative", supported by two quotations, **epikli bayatım**, without reference, and **epikli saray** "an artistic palace", from "page 91". The reference is wrong, but by looking up **saray** in Radloff I got what I think must be the right reference, verse 1419 in Dr. Arat's edition (p. 58 of the Vienna MS.), which reads **ediz kén beđizlig sarayın kalıp** "your lofty wide well-adorned palace remains (but you in time will die)". Plate III, No. 13, shows the word which Vambery, for some inexplicable reason, read **epikli**. I had a much longer hunt for **epikli bayatım**, but it looked like the beginning of a line in an invocation of some kind, probably near the beginning or end of the book, and finally I came on verse 6520, which begins **tegür ay bayatım** "grant, oh my God", which must be the passage. Plate III, No. 14, shows how the opening words are written. The resemblance to **epikli** is remote.

Vambery also lists **epit-** "to make ready, prepare, complete, build, gladden" supported by the quotation **negü ol igin körme könlün epit** from "page 90". This reference, too, was wrong and finally, after a long hunt, I found it in verse 6282 (p. 179 of the Vienna MS.) which read **negü ol igin kör me könlün avıt**, "see how his illness is, and make glad your heart". **Avıt-** (also **avut**) is, of course, a well-known Turkish word, though the spelling, Plate III, No. 15, is not particularly clear.

The most startling piece of nonsense in Radloff is **ügü** "water" in

i, 1810 ; it goes back to a piece of fatuity by a medieval annotator. In verse 145, " God created and picked out man (from the animals) ", man (*yalıyukuğ*) is written in three pieces in the Vienna MS. as shown in Plate III, No. 16, and, as shown there, some medieval annotator had written the Persian words *bād*, *āb*, and *axāk* " air, water, and earth " under these three pieces.

#### D. GHOST WORDS IN ARABIC SCRIPT

The Arabic script is even easier to misread than Uyğur. Misplaced diacritical points (*nuqtas*) are the most prolific source of error, but the trouble sometimes comes from reading one letter for another. Numerically the largest group of errors in this category is that of mere false vocalizations, which are common in Kunos and not unknown elsewhere. Generally these are easy to correct, but can sometimes be troublesome especially in short words and where gutturals are involved. It took me some time to discover that the supposed word *uru* in such phrases as *uru tur-* " to stand up " is merely *örü*, the gerund of *ör-* " to rise ". Similarly it was not at first sight easy to see that *utkar-* " to pass through, to learn by heart " is merely *ötger-*. The " Rumi " spellings in *Saylax* frequently caused trouble to later authors. Thus *ulur* " people, tribe ", etc. (the Mongol form of the old Turkish word *ulus* " country ", which became very common in Turkish from the fourteenth century onwards), appears twice in P. de C. and Kunos, once with initial *alif wāw* correctly translated " tribe ", and once with initial *alif* translated in P. de C., p. 37, " état, condition " (this must have come from some earlier French authority who meant " état " to be understood as " state " in the political sense), and in Kunos, p. 63 (*elus*), translated (from P. de C.) " hal, iş, şuğl ".

The following are a few cases where more than mere false vocalization is involved :—

*egü* " individual " in *Saylax* (one of the very few errors in that work) which reappears as *av* in P. de C., p. 39, and Kunos, p. 17, and as *aku* in Kunos, p. 9, is merely the second half of the distributive numerals *biregü* " one by itself ", *ikegü* " two together ", etc., cut off and treated as a separate word.

*idü* (?) " trouble, distress " in Brockelmann's and Atalay's Index to Kaşğari and *öd* " mountain " in the latter both go back

1. 伯 (pig/tig) 14. مصعرت
2. ددة ارونه 15. سوبل
3. ١٢٤٥٦ 16. سعبوع ثعبتر  
باد آب خاك
4. ٥٦٧٨٩ 17. اوئو
5. ١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨ 18. اونو
6. ٩١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩ 19. اونزل
7. سحر 20. اوترك
8. موعر 21. البوتو (البرتو؟)  
زينت تاج كمر
9. دلعنه
10. سعبوع 22. البوتو (البرتو؟)  
رعيت باج كذر
11. سعبوع
12. سعبوع 23. وحو امج
13. وحو اصح 24. وحو اصح





to a difficult verse in Kaşğari, i, 110 (of Atalay's translation), which reads :—

aydu: senin u:du:                      emgek telim i:du: (?)  
yumsar katıg u:du:                      könlüm saña: yügrük

which Kaşğari explains as follows ; “ this describes a vision of a man's beloved ; he says ‘ How did you get to me over this difficult trail ? ’ and the vision replies ‘ I endured hardships for you, and the mountains became soft because of it and my heart swiftly reached you ’.” This is a free translation ; the first line, “ He said ‘ following you ’,” and the last, “ my heart hastens to you,” are easy. In the third line **u:du:** is probably to be taken in its secondary meaning and the line translated “ *thereupon* the hard became soft ”. **i:du:** (or **iđu:**) in the third line is a real crux, **-iđ** means “ to send ” and there is no trace of a verb **iđ-** ; it may be **u:du:** in a slightly different sense again “ *following on* many sufferings ” ; the one thing certain is that **iđü** “ suffering ” and **öđ** “ mountain ” are ghosts.

öt “ sound ” in *Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, i, 569, in the phrase **tavul ötü** “ the sound of the drum ” (for **ünü** from the well-known word **ün** “ sound ”), and **onzel (önzel)** “ lie, falsehood ”, in P. de C., p. 82, and Kunos, p. 151 (for **ötrük**), are good examples of ghosts derived from omitted or misplaced points. See Plate III, Nos. 17-20, for the ghost and genuine forms.

The most remarkable Çağatay ghost (a triple one) which I have yet discovered is in the translation of the Mongol word **albantu** “ liable to **alban**, i.e. head tax ”. This word occurs in the Altaian dialects as **albattu** and in *Saylax* as **albutu**, which is probably an error for **albantu**. I first found this word in P. de C., p. 30, where it is translated “ ornament, couronne, ceinture ”. I traced it back to Şeyh Süleyman, where the entry is as in Plate III, No. 21, and the translation is the same. Then I looked it up in *Saylax*, where the entry is as in Plate III, No. 22. By a few quite minor changes “ peasant, tax-payer ” had become “ ornament, crown, belt ”. No doubt one of the abridgments of the *Saylax* was responsible for this perversion.

Finally I come to the pearl of my collection, a ghost in the almost impeccable MS. of Kaşğari. In Kaşğari, i, 140 (of Atalay's translation), **armağan** is translated “ a gift to his neighbours brought back by someone from a journey, in the Oğuz dialect ; also pronounced **yarmağan** ; *wa huwa amuç* ”. The phrase (see Plate III, No. 23) is

quite clear in the facsimile, and both Brockelmann and Atalay included *amuç* as a word meaning "gift" in their Indices. But this seemed to me a very odd entry, and then it occurred to me that when Kaşgari records two pronunciations of a word he nearly always adds after the second *wa huwa aṣaḥḥu* (Plate III, No. 24). That is no doubt what he did this time, and the phrase "and the latter is more correct" seems a very appropriate one with which to end this paper.

## Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf by 'Abd al-Ra 'ūf of Singkel

By A. JOHNS

### PART II

Maka terkadang kechil rupa dalam chermin itu sebab kechil chermin, dan terkadang panjang ia sebab panjang chermin; dan terkadang bergerak ia sebab bergerak chermin, dan terkadang berbalēk ia, apabila ada chermin itu di-atas atau di-bawah; dan terkadang berbetulan kanan-nya dengan kanan yang berchermin (E. 148) tatkala banyak chermin, dan terkadang berbetulan kanan-nya dengan kiri-nya, apabila ada chermin itu di-hadapan-nya. Maka ada-lah sakalian<sup>1</sup> itu menunjukkan kapada rupa yang kelihatan dalam (C. 56a) chermin,<sup>2</sup> bukan ia sa-kali-kali diri yang berchermin dan bukan ia lain daripada-nya pun karena yang berchermin itu tetap jua ia saperti ada-nya, tiada ia berubah; hanya yang berubah-ubah itu kenyataan-nya dalam chermin jua sebab berubah-ubah penerimaan chermin: demikian-lah kita hendak mithalkan dengan tiada tashbih akan tajalli Hakk ta'ala pada hamba-nya berbagai-bagai ia, sebab berbagai-bagai hamba-nya dan segala hal merēka itu jua.

Kata sa-tengah merēka itu, bahawa ada-lah nyata rupa kechil dalam chermin yang kechil itu, upama nyata Hakk ta'ala pada tiap-tiap sa-suatu dengan sa-kira-kira penerimaan diri sa-suatu jua; dan nyata rupa panjang dalam chermin yang panjang itu upama nyata Hakk ta'ala pada 'alam amr dan 'alam malakut (E. 149) pun nama-nya (ia)-itu 'alam yang tiada di-lihat oleh mata kepala; dan nyata rupa bergerak<sup>3</sup> dalam chermin yang bergerak itu upama nyata Hakk ta'ala pada segala pekerjaan yang berbalēk-balēk dan yang berubah-ubah pada tiap-tiap<sup>4</sup> masa ini; dan nyata rupa berbalek-balek,<sup>5</sup> apabila ada chermin di-bawah itu upama nyata Hakk ta'ala pada makhlok di-kata Ia makhlok. Dan nyata rupa berbalek-balek apabila ada chermin di-atas itu upama nyata makhlok pada Hakk ta'ala di-kata ia Hakk<sup>6</sup>; dan nyata rupa berbetulan kanan dengan kanan itu upama nyata Hakk ta'ala pada insan kamil; dan nyata rupa berbetulan kanan dengan kiri<sup>7</sup> itu upama

<sup>1</sup> C. + nya.

<sup>2</sup> C. + nya.

<sup>3</sup> C. duplicates.

<sup>4</sup> C. : no duplication.

<sup>5</sup> C. + itu.

<sup>6</sup> C. + ta'ālā.

<sup>7</sup> C. + nya.

nyata Hakk ta'ala pada insan yang tiada kamil. Maka sakalian itu kenyataan-nya jua, bukan sakalian itu Ia dan bukan lain daripadanya pun. Kata Shaikh kita : "*Al-wujūdu wāḥidun bi'l-dhātī wa-muta'addidun bi'l-nisabī wa'l-idāfat*," erti-nya : Yang wujud itu esa ia dengan dhat dan berbilang ia (E. 150) dengan segala bangsa dan segala idafat. *Wa'llāhu a'lam*.

Fa'edah pada menyatakan segala dalil yang menunjukkan kepada 'alam atau segala perkara ini lain<sup>1</sup> daripada Hakk Ta'ala, maka ia-itu amat banyak. Maka sa-tengah daripadanya firman Allah ta'ala : "*Allāhu khāliḳu kullī shai'in*" (C. 53b), erti-nya<sup>2</sup> : Allah ta'ala jua menjadikan tiap2 sa-suatu, maka tiada-lah tasawwur pada 'akal bahawa ia menjadikan diri-nya. Dan sa-tengah daripadanya telah datang pada sa-tengah daripada segala cheritera dalam hadith kudsi, demikian bunyi-nya : "*(Yā) ibn Adam, turīdu wa urīdu walā yakūnu illā mā urīdu, fa'in sallanta lī fīmā urīdu a'taituka mā turīdu, wa'in nāza'tanī fīmā urīdu at 'abtuka fīmā turīdu thumma lā yakūnu illā mā urīdu*," erti-nya : Hai anak Adam, kau-kehendaki dan ku-kehendaki dan tiada ada melainkan yang ku-kehendaki jua. Maka jika kau-serahkan bagi-ku pada barang yang ku-kehendaki, neschaya ku-anugerahaī akan dikau barang yang kau-kehendaki, dan jika kau-bantahi akan daku pada barang yang ku-kehendaki neschaya ku-perlelahkan akan dikau pada (E. 151) barang yang kau-kehendaki, maka tiada hasil melainkan yang ku-kehendaki jua.<sup>3</sup> Maka di-pahamkan dengan firman-nya : "Kau kehendaki dan ku-kehendaki" itu, bahawa ada-lah hamba itu lain daripada Hakk ta'ala, dan di-pahamkan dengan firman nya : "Tiada ada melainkan yang ku-kehendaki" itu, bahawa tiada hasil saperti kehendak hamba melainkan apabila muafakat dengan kehendak Hakk ta'ala ; dan di-pahamkan dengan firman-nya : "Jika kau-serahkan bagi-ku pada barang yang ku-kehendaki, neschaya ku-anugerahi akan dikau barang yang kau-kehendaki" itu, apabila sangat ta'at hamba kapada Hakk ta'ala, neschaya ta'at Ia kapada-nya, karna sabda Nabi s.a.w. pada mamaji<sup>4</sup> Abbas r.a., demikian bunyi-nya : "*Wa anta yā 'ammī, in aṭa' tahu atā'aka*,"<sup>5</sup> erti-nya : Hai mama-ku, dan engkau pun, jika ta'at engkau akan Dia neschaya ta'at Ia akan dikau, ya'ni

<sup>1</sup> C. E. : om.<sup>2</sup> Qur. 13 : 16. C. + bahawa.<sup>3</sup> C. : om.<sup>4</sup> This slip of the pen proves the copyist was an Achehnese. C. has the Malay equivalent "mama-nya".<sup>5</sup> Probably not canonical.

di-perkenankan segala pinta-mu. Dan sa-tengah daripada-nya pendapat dengan dhauk dalam diri kita : apabila (E. 152) kita berkehendak kapada mendatangkan sa-suatu yang kita kasehi akan dia atau menolakkan sa-suatu yang kita kebenchi akan dia maka kita kata bagi-nya : jadi engkau demikian, demikian. Maka jika jadi sa-suatu itu, neschaya mau-lah hati kita mengatakan diri kita <sup>1</sup> keadaan Hakk Ta'ala, jikalau sesat sa-kali pun ; dan jika tiada jadi sa-suatu itu, neschaya ta'dapat tiada fikir dalam hati kita : Betapa hal ini ? Jikalau aku Hakk ta'ala neschaya jadi-lah sa-suatu ini karna Ia berfirman : *Idhā arāda shai'an an yakūla lahu kun fayakūnu*,<sup>2</sup> erti-nya : Apabila di-kehendaki-nya akan sa-suatu, neschaya berfirman bagi-nya, "Jadi engkau" maka jadi ia. Maka tatkala itu tahu-lah kita akan diri kita lain daripada Hakk ta'ala. Bermula jikalau tiada masok fikir yang demikian itu kapada hati sa-sa-orang, pada hal di-tegohi-nya jua mengatakan diri-nya keadaan Hakk ta'ala, neschaya ada-lah ia daripada orang yang di-sesatkan Allah, tiada-lah (E. 153) siapa dapat menunjoki dia : Saperti firman Allah ta'ala : "*Man yudlilī 'llāhu falā hādīya lahu*,"<sup>3</sup> erti-nya : Barang siapa di-sesatkan Allah, maka tiada siapa menunjoki bagi-nya. Maka kita pohonkan kapada Allah ta'ala 'afiyat daripada yang<sup>4</sup> demikian itu dalam dunia dan dalam akhirat.

Su'al : Jika bertanya sa-sa-orang apa hukum apabila ada sa-sa-orang daripada segala hamba Allah tiap-tiap di-kehendaki-nya akan sa-suatu, maka di-kata-nya bagi-nya, "Jadi engkau" maka jadi ia, ada-kah harus bagi-nya mengatakan diri-nya<sup>5</sup> atau segala perkara ini keadaan Hakk ta'ala atau tiada ? Jawab : bahawa tiada harus bagi-nya mengatakan kata yang demikian itu, karna sabda nabi s.a.w. : Yang terlebih daripada segala makhlok itu tiada ia mengatakan diri-nya demikian itu, hanya ia mengatakan diri-nya hamba bagi Allah dan dengan Dia wujud-nya dan ia milēk bagi-nya saperti sabda-nya : "*Wa mā nahnu illā bihi wa lahu*," erti-nya : Dan tiada ada kami melainkan dengan Dia dan bagi-nya (E. 154) jua. Dan lagi pula sabda-nya : "*A falā akūnu 'abdan shakūran*?"<sup>6</sup> erti-nya : Maka tiada-lah aku hamba yang shakur kapada Tuhan-ku ? Tiada mau ia bersabda : Tiada-kah aku keadaan

<sup>1</sup> E. had "merēka itu" corrected clumsily.

<sup>3</sup> Qur. 7 : 186. E. has incorrectly "waman".

<sup>5</sup> C. E. : dia.

<sup>2</sup> Qur. 36 : 82.

<sup>4</sup> C. : om.

<sup>6</sup> Bukhari Tahajjud 6.



Tuhan-ku. Dan lagi pula sabda-nya : “ *Lā tuṭrūnī kamā atrat<sup>1</sup> al-naṣārā ibn Maryam fa'innamā ana 'abdun, fakūlū 'abda'llāhi warasūlahu,*”<sup>2</sup> erti-nya : Jangan kamu puji (C. 57b) akan daku saperti puji segala kaum Nasrani akan 'Isa anak Mariam ; maka sa-nya aku sa-orang hamba ; maka kata oleh kamu akan daku hamba Allah dan pesuroh-nya — tiada mau is bersabda : Maka sa-nya aku keadaan-nya. Maka hendak-lah jangan di-kata yang demikian itu supaya jangan keluar daripada kandang Nabi. Kata Shaikh : “ *Wa'l-kamālu fi ittibā 'i'l-rasūl,*” erti-nya : Yang sempurna itu pada mengikut rasul Allah. Tetapi jika sa-sa-orang daripada segala orang yang kamil mukammal mengata yang demikian itu, pada hal di-kasad-nya dengan kata-nya demikian itu menghikayatkan hal pada mertabat (E. 155) ahadiat daripada pēhak tamas dalam-nya, atau di-kasad-nya menunjoki murid yang paham kapada shuhud al-kathrat fi'l-wahdat, neschaya tiada-lah ngapa dalam-nya dan ada-lah imam-nya pada yang demikian itu Shaikh Muhyi'l-Din kaddasa'llahu sirrahu. Dan jika tiada di-kasad-nya pada menghikayatkan hal yang demikian itu dan tiada menunjoki murid pun, neschaya tiada harus bagi-nya mengata yang demikian itu di-hadapan orang yang dungu, karna kata yang demikian itu mengelinchirkan segala orang yang bebal, sebab perkataan itu mengehendaki ta'wil yang menyimpang daripada zahir-nya. Maka hendak-lah jangan di-kata oleh yang kamil di-hadap merēka itu melainkan kata yang betul yang di-terima oleh 'akal merēka itu jua, karna firman Allah : “ *Wa kūlū ḥaṣan shadīdan,*”<sup>3</sup> erti-nya : Dan kata oleh kamu kata yang betul. Dan sabda Nabi (E. 156) s.a.w. : “ *Haddithū al-nāsa bimā yaḥḥabūna, a-turūḍūnu an yuḥadhdhaba 'llāhu wa rasūluhu,*”<sup>4</sup> erti-nya : Cheriterai oleh kamu segala manusia itu dengan barang yang di-pahamkan merēka itu akan dia, kamu kehendaki-kah mendustakan Allah dan rasul-nya ? Dan kata Zarruk r.a.<sup>5</sup> : “ *Lā yajūzu li'l-mashā'ikhi an yadhkurū li'l-murīdīna mā tahtāru fīhi 'uḳūluhum,*” erti-nya : Dan tiada harus bagi segala [shaikh menyebut]<sup>6</sup> bagi segala murid kata yang hairan dalam-nya segala 'akal merēka itu. Dan kata (C. 58a) Imam Ghazali r.a. : “ *Kad tudirru'l-ḥakā'iku bi aḳwāmīn kamā yatadarraru'l-ju'alu bi'l-wardī*

<sup>1</sup> C.E. : tarat.<sup>2</sup> Qur. 33 : 70.<sup>3</sup> Br. G. 11 253.<sup>4</sup> Bukhari Anbiyā' 48.<sup>5</sup> Bukhari 'Ilmu 49.<sup>6</sup> C. : bahawa yang menyebut merēka itu.

*wa'l-mish*," erti-nya: Terkadang memori mudzarat haka'ik itu akan segala kaum<sup>1</sup> saperti jadi mudzarat kumbang tahi dengan sebab di-chium <menyeri> ayer mawar dan kasturi.

Bermula jikalau di-kata oleh orang yang kamil mukammal kata [yang tersebut]<sup>2</sup> itu (E. 157) pada hal tiada tahu kita akan kasad-nya, neschaya wajib atas kita mentaslimkan kata-nya itu kepada ahlinya. Saperti kata Zarruk r.a.: "*Fa sallim taslam*," erti-nya: Maka serahkan oleh-mu kata itu kepada yang empunya [kata]<sup>3</sup> neschaya sejahtera-lah engkau, atau menta'wilkan dia kepada ta'wil yang baik, karna kata penghulu kita<sup>4</sup> 'Umar ibn al-Khattab<sup>5</sup> r.a.: "*Lā tazunnanna kalimatan ṣadarat min aḥlīka su'an wa'anta tajidu lahā maḥmalan fī'l-khairi walau ilā sab'in*," erti-nya: Jangan kira-nya kau-sangka kalimat yang keluar daripada saudara-mu itu jahat pada hal kau-peroleh bagi-nya jalan menta'wilkan dia kepada kata yang baik jikalau datang kepada tujuh puluh ta'wil sa-kali pun. Maka apabila ada-lah kata penghulu kita ini 'am pada segala [saudara yang]<sup>6</sup> Islam, masok dalam-nya yang kamil,<sup>7</sup> neschaya ada-lah yang kamil itu terlebēh utama (dari) pada kita menta'wilkan perkataan-nya <ada>, Dan ada-lah kata penghulu kita ini di-ambil daripada hadith, demikian bunyi-nya: "*Idfa'ū al-ḥudūda 'an al-muslimīna mā istata'tum fa'in wajadtum bi'l-muslimīna makhrajan fa khallū sabīlahu*,"<sup>8</sup> erti-nya: Tolakkan oleh kamu segala hadd daripada segala orang Islam sa-kuasa-kuasa kamu; maka jika kamu peroleh bagi orang Islam itu jalan keluar daripada hadd-nya itu maka kamu berikan jalan-nya. Maka kata ini apabila ada kita daripada jenis orang yang dapat (harus-lah kita) menta'wilkan perkataan-nya, dan jika tiada demikian, neschaya wajib atas kita (C. 58b) taslim-saperti (kata) Zarruk yang telah lalu itu, dan tiada harus bagi kita mengkafirkan (dia. Bermula yang mengkafirkan) itu sangat bahaya-nya, karna jikalau ada ia kafir maka tiada-lah perkataan dalam-nya, dan jika tiada ia kafir neschaya kembali kata itu kepada diri kita saperti sabda nab s.a.w.: "*Lā yarmi rajulun rajulan bi'l-fusūki walā yarmihi bi'l-kufri illa'rtadda 'alaihi in lam yakun ṣāhibuhu kadhālik*,"<sup>9</sup> erti-nya: Tiada jua sa-sa-orang laki-laki menukas sa-sa-orang

<sup>1</sup> Spelling قوم perhaps influenced by Achehnese pronunciation kawōm.

<sup>2</sup> C.: hole in E.

<sup>3</sup> C. E.: om.

<sup>4</sup> C. E.: om.

<sup>5</sup> Authenticity uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> C.: hole in E.

<sup>7</sup> E. breaks off.

<sup>8</sup> Reconstructed from Malay. Ibn Māja, Ḥudūd 5, and al-Tirmidhī Ḥudūd 2.

<sup>9</sup> Bukhari Adab 44.

laki-laki dengan fasēk dan tiada jua menukas dia dengan kafir melainkan kembali tukas itu (atas-nya, jika tiada sahabat itu) demikian. Dan ini-lah bahaya mengkafirkan itu ; berlingong kira-kira-nya kita kapada Allah daripada kufr itu.

Su'al : jika bertanya sa-sa-orang apa hukum jika sa-sa-orang menengar kata yang demikian itu daripada shaikh yang kamil, maka di-jabat-nya-lah kata itu, ya'ni di-jadikan-nya-lah ia akan makanan-nya bagi-nya, tetapi hal-nya tiada berpatutan dengan kata itu, adakah sejahtera ia dengan menjadikan dia makanan itu atau tiada ? Jawab : Apabila tiada ada kata itu berpatutan dengan hal-nya ya'ni dhauk-nya, neschaya tiada-lah ia sejahtera pada menjadikan dia makanan karna ia memakan makanan yang tiada patut bagi-nya memakan dia. Maka ada-lah yang demikian itu netiasa menyakiti dia tiada berputusan choba Allah akan dia, dan netiasa naik saksi hal-nya atas dusta-nya pada tiap-tiap kedatangan bala. Maka tiada-lah ia tipu <sup>1</sup> karna makanan itu bukan makanan-nya jikalau manis sa-kali pun upama-nya. Maka sebab itu-lah kata Ibn 'Atā 'Allāh r.a. <sup>2</sup> : "*Fa'l-'ibārāt kūt li ghafalat al-mustami 'ina walaisa laka illā mā anta lahu ākilun,*" erti-nya : Maka segala 'ibarat merēka itu makanan bagi segala orang yang menengar, dan tiada harus bagi-mu melainkan yang patut kau-makan jua, [ya'ni saperti tiada harus (?) kau-makan jua] <sup>3</sup> barang yang memunoh dikau saperti mengatakan diri-mu 'ayn al-Hakk upama-nya, maka ia-itu tiada harus dan tiada sah melainkan daripada pēhak tamas dalam ahadiat yang telah tersebut itu. Dan ada-lah kata itu makanan orang yang karam pada tauhid dhat, yang ia kesudahan segala (C. 59a) mertabat tauhid. *Wa'llāhu a'lam.*

Fa'edah <sup>4</sup> pada menyatakan segala mertabat tauhid. Bermula ada-lah mertabat tauhid itu empat perkara : pertama tauhid uluhiyat <sup>5</sup> nama-nya, ia-itu menafikan ketuhanan daripada segala yang lain-nya daripada Allah dan mengithbatkan dia kapada-nya. Kedua tauhid af'al nama-nya, ia-itu menafikan af'al yang hakiki daripada segala yang lain daripada Allah dan mengithbatkan dia kapada-nya. Ketiga tauhid sifat nama-nya, ia-itu menafikan segala sifat yang hakiki daripada segala yang lain daripada Allah dan mengithbatkan dia kapada-nya. Keempat tauhid dhat nama-nya dan tauhid wujud hakiki pun nama-nya, ia-itu menafikan wujud

<sup>1</sup> Text uncertain. *Tiada* = *Bukan* ?

<sup>3</sup> C. lower margin. Corrupt ?

<sup>2</sup> Br. G. 11, 117.

<sup>4</sup> A. begins.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. : ilāhiyat.

yang hakiki daripada segala yang lain-nya daripada Allah dan mengithbatkan dia kapada-nya. Kata sa-tengah merēka itu bahawa tauhid af'al itu mentajridkan ya'ni menyunyikan fi'l daripada segala yang lain-nya daripada Hakk Ta'ala dengan sa-kira-kira tiada-lah di-lihat-nya pada wujud ini fi'l dan ta'thir<sup>1</sup> melainkan bagi Tuhan yang esa jua. Dan tauhid<sup>2</sup> sifat itu, ia-itu mentajridkan segala sifat ya'ni segala kudrat dan segala pendapat daripada segala yang lain-nya daripada Hakk ta'ala. Dan tauhid dhat itu ia-itu mentajridkan dhat daripada segala yang lain-nya daripada-nya dengan sa-kira-kira tiada-lah di-lihat-nya pada wujud ini melainkan dhat Hakk ta'ala serta<sup>3</sup> segala ta'ayyun-nya jua. Maka segala kata ini dengan<sup>4</sup> yang dahulu itu hukum suatu jua.

Sa-bermula segala dalil yang menunjukkan kapada segala tauhid yang empat itu amat banyak. Maka sa-tengah daripada segala dalil yang menunjukkan kapada tauhid uluhiyat itu firman Allah : "*Wamā arsalnā min kablika min rasūlin illā nūḥi ilaihi annahu lā ilaha illā ana fa'budūni*,"<sup>5</sup> erti-nya : Dan tiada kami surohkan sa-sa-orang<sup>6</sup> pesuroh dahulu daripada-mu, ya Muhammad!, melainkan di-wahyikan<sup>6</sup> kapada-nya bahawa sa-nya pekerjaan itu tiada Tuhan hanya Aku; maka sembah olēh kamu akan Daku. Dan firman Allah ta'ala : "*Fa'lam annahu lā ilaha illā 'llāh*"<sup>7</sup> (C. 59b) erti-nya : Maka ketahuī olēh-mu bahawa sa-nya pekerjaan itu tiada Tuhan hanya Allah.

Dan sa-tengah daripada dalil yang menunjukkan kapada tauhid af'al itu firman Allah ta'ala : "*Allāhu khāliḳu kulli shai'in*,"<sup>8</sup> erti-nya : Allah ta'ala jua yang menjadikan tiap-tiap sa-suatu; dan lagi firman Allah ta'ala : "*Wa'llāhu khalaḳakum wamā ta 'malūna*,"<sup>9</sup> erti-nya : Dan Allah ta'ala jua menjadikan kamu dan barang perbuatan kamu. Dan sabda Nabi s.a.w. : "*Allāhu ṣāni'u kulli ṣāni'in wa ṣan 'atihi*,"<sup>10</sup> erti-nya : Bahawa sa-nya Allah ta'ala jua berbuat tiap-tiap yang berbuat dan perbuatan-nya.

Dan sa-tengah daripada segala dalil yang menunjukkan kapada tauhid sifat itu, firman Allah ta'ala : "*Yā ayyuha 'l-nāsu, antumu'l-fuḳarā'u ilā 'llāhi, wa'llāhu huwa'l-ghanīyu*,"<sup>11</sup> erti-nya : Hai segala manusia kamu sakalian berkehendak kapada Allah;

<sup>1</sup> A. + erti-nya bekas in right margin.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. : sa-mata.

<sup>4</sup> A. + segala.

<sup>6</sup> A. : wajibkan translating misquotation "yujib".

<sup>8</sup> Qur. 39 : 62.

<sup>9</sup> Qur. 37 : 96.

<sup>2</sup> A. : B. + kudrat.

<sup>5</sup> Qur. 21 : 25.

<sup>7</sup> Qur. 47 : 19.

<sup>10</sup> Anthenticity uncertain.

<sup>11</sup> Qur. 35 : 15.

bermula Allah ta'ala jua yang ghani,<sup>1</sup> maka ada-lah ia menghimpunkan segala sifat kamal.

Dan sa-tengah daripada segala dalil yang menunjokkan kepada tauhid dhat itu firman Allah ta'ala : “ *Huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-akhiru wa'l-zāhiru wa'l-bāṭinu*, ”<sup>2</sup> erti-nya : Ia jua yang pertama dan Ia jua yang kemudian dan yang nyata dan yang terbuni. Maka ini-lah sa-tengah daripada segala dalil yang menunjokkan kepada mertabat<sup>3</sup> tauhid yang empat itu.

Kata shaikh kita : Bermula ada-lah perkataan ini sa-suatu nukta ya'ni perkataan yang seni-seni yang sa-yogia-nya menyebut dia ia-itu bahawa ada-lah kalimat *lā ilaha illā 'llāh* itu menghimpunkan segala mertabat tauhid yang empat dan menunjokkan kepada-nya, ada-kala-nya dengan mantuk<sup>4</sup> [*wa'l-mantūk mā dalla 'alaihi al-lafz fī mahalli 'l-nuṭq*]. Bermula mantuk itu barang yang menunjok atas-nya lafaz pada tempat yang di-kata]<sup>5</sup> dan ada kala-nya dengan iltizam. Maka ada-lah *lā ilaha illā 'llāh* itu menunjokkan kepada tauhid uluhiyat dengan mantuk-nya karna mantuk-nya menafikan sifat ketuhanan itu daripada segala yang lain daripada Allah dan mengithbathkan dia kepada-nya. Maka apabila nafi-lah ketuhanan itu daripada segala yang lain-nya<sup>6</sup> daripada Allah karna nakis-nya dan thabit-lah ia bagi Allah karna sempurna-nya, neschaya lazim-lah nafi daripada-nya fi'l dan sifat dan dhat (C. 60a) karna nakis-lah dan thabit-lah sakalian-nya<sup>7</sup> itu bagi Allah.<sup>8</sup> Dan nyata-lah dengan kata ini barang siapa menguchap *lā ilaha illā 'llāh*, neschaya sentiasa<sup>9</sup> mentauhidkan akan Allah ta'ala dengan tawahid yang empat mertabat itu. Maka sa-yogia-nya-lah kita perbanyak menguchap dia karna ia mengandung perkataan<sup>10</sup> yang tersebut itu, karna sabda Nabi s.a.w. pada hadith yang panjang demikian bunyi-nya : “ *Fa'kṭhirū min kaul lā ilaha illā 'llāhi min kabla an yuhāla bainakum wabainahā*, ”<sup>11</sup> erti-nya : Maka perbanyak oleh kamu daripada menguchap *lā ilaha illā 'llāh* itu dahulu daripada di-dinding antara kamu dan antara-nya. Tetapi hendak-lah menguchap dia itu dengan ikhlas hati-nya lagi dengan ta'zim-nya karna sabda Nabi s.a.w. : “ *Man kāla lā ilaha illā 'llāh mukhlisan dakhala 'l-jannat*, ”<sup>12</sup> erti-nya : Barang siapa menguchap *lā ilaha illā 'llāh* itu pada hal dengan ikhlas-nya neschaya masok shurga ia.

<sup>1</sup> A. : kaya.<sup>2</sup> Qur. 57 : 3.<sup>3</sup> A. : om.<sup>4</sup> A. : + nya.<sup>5</sup> A gloss in the margin of C. incorporated into A.<sup>6</sup> A. : om.<sup>7</sup> A. : om.<sup>8</sup> A. : nya.<sup>9</sup> A. : ada-lah ia sa-ratus.<sup>10</sup> A. C. : kataan.<sup>11</sup> Probably not canonical.<sup>12</sup> Probably not canonical.



Ada pun sa-tengah daripada fa'edah berbanyak-banyak<sup>1</sup> kali menguchapkan dia itu, maka ia-itu supaya mesra kalimat itu dalam hati. Maka ada-lah jalan memesrakan dia, pertama menguchap dia [dengan memberi bekas-nya pada diri, kemudian maka jadi terperangai-lah kapada-nya, kemudian maka dengan di-kerasi oleh dhikr akan dia sa-hingga di-isi olèh dhikr].<sup>2</sup> Maka apabila mesra dan tetap-lah ia dalam hati pada ketika hidup, neschaya tetap-lah ia dalam-nya pada ketika mati-nya, dan apabila tetap-lah ia pada ketika mati neschaya [tetap-lah ia]<sup>3</sup> pada hari berhimpun di-padang mahshar, saperti kata Shaikh kita dalam <sup>4</sup> *Kaṣd al-Sabīl*: “*Fa'inna 'l-mār'a yamūtu 'alā mā 'āsha 'alaihi wa yuḥsharu 'alā mā māta 'alaihi*,”<sup>5</sup> erti-nya: Maka bahawa sa-nya manusia itu mati ia atas-nya saperti pekerjaan yang ia (hidup) atas-nya dan di-himpunkan ia di-padang mahshar atas-nya [saperti pekerjaan yang telah mati ia atas-nya]<sup>6</sup>—ya'ni barang siapa ada ia pada ketika hidup-nya karam dalam dhikr Allah dan tetap<sup>7</sup> hati-nya dengan dia, neschaya (C. 60b) ada-lah ia pada ketika mati-nya pun demikian-nya jua<sup>8</sup>; atau karam ia pada suatu pekerjaan dunia neschaya ada-lah [tatkala mati-nya dan bangkit-nya]<sup>9</sup> dari dalam kubur ka-mahshar pun demikian-nya jua.<sup>10</sup>

Sa-bermula ada-lah pada yang menyakutui dia pada pekerjaan-nya itu (demikian jua), sebab di-perlihatkan (?) Allah akan dia segala orang yang muthabarah dengan dia saperti kata *Mujahid* tersebut dalam kitab *Tadhkirah* karangan Shaikh (Jamal) al-Din Kurtubi qaddasa'llāh sirrahu<sup>11</sup>—demikian bunyi-nya: “*Lā min mayyitin illā wa tu'radu 'alaihi ahlu mujālasatihi 'lladhīna kānū yujālisūnahu; in kānū ahla 'l-lahwi fa'ahlu 'l-lahwi, wa'in kānū ahla 'l-dhikri fa'ahlu 'l-dhikri*,” erti-nya: Tiada ada daripada yang mati itu melainkan pada hal di-datangkan atas-nya orang yang sa-kedudukan-nya yang telah ada ia sa-kedudukan-nya dengan dia.

<sup>1</sup> A.: no duplication.

<sup>2</sup> A. and C. unintelligible. Suggested reading in light of p. 23 and 'Umdat al-muḥtājīn (Leiden Cod. Or. 7250), p. 22. Original reading: dengan memberati diri kemudian maka jadi terperangai-lah kapada-nya, kemudian-nya maka dengan di-keras oleh dhikr akan dia.

<sup>3</sup> A. C.: om.

<sup>4</sup> A. + kitab yang bernama.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. illegible. This work is a commentary by Mulla Ibrahim on *Manzūma fī'l-tauhīd*, by Qashshāshī. Cf. Br. 2, 392.

<sup>6</sup> A. C.: om.

<sup>7</sup> A. + lah.

<sup>8</sup> A.: om.

<sup>9</sup> A. C.: ia pada ketika mati-nya pun demikian-nya jua ia dan bangkit-nya.

<sup>10</sup> A. ends.

<sup>11</sup> Extracts published by al-Sha'rānī (third impression, Cairo, 1904).

Jika ada merēka itu orang permainan maka di-datangkan atas(-nya) segala orang yang permainan-nya jua, dan jika<sup>1</sup> ada merēka itu orang yang netiasa dhikr maka di-datangkan atas mereka itu orang yang dhikr ia<sup>2</sup> jua. Maka sayogia-nya-lah kita menchari sa-kendudukan<sup>3</sup> yang baik lagi ahl al-dhikr saperti kata sha'ir :—

*Idhā kunta fī ḥaumin fa ṣāhib ḫiyārahum  
Wa lā taṣḥabi'l-ardā fa tarda ma'a'l-radī,<sup>4</sup>*

erti-nya : Apabila ada engkau pada suatu kaum maka bersahabat engkau dengan yang pilēhan merēka itu dan jangan engkau bersahabat dengan yang terlebēh kurang, maka jika bersahabat engkau dengan dia, maka di-kurangkan engkau serta orang yang kurang itu.

Dan sayogia-nya pula kita mesrakan *lā ilaha illā'llāh* itu dahulu daripada mati kita supaya tetap ia dalam hati kita pada ketika mati kita, dan ada-lah pada masa itu terlebēh sangat hajat kapada tetap-nya karna mati itu pintu yang amat besar bahaya-nya. Maka hendak-lah kita suroh orang yang hampir akan mati itu dengan menguchap *lā ilaha illā 'llāh* karna sabda nabi s.a.w.<sup>5</sup> (C. 61a) : “*Laḳkinū mautākum lā ilaha illā 'llāh fa'innahā tuhaddimu'l-dhunnūba hadman,*” erti-nya : Ujar-lah kamu segala orang yang hampir mati daripada kamu *lā ilaha illā'llāh*, maka bahawa sa-nya kalimat *lā ilaha illā'llāh* itu meruntuhkan segala dosa dengan sa-kali runtoḥ jua.

Bermula ada-lah segala fa'edah memesrakan dan mengaramkan diri kita dengan dhikr *lā ilaha illā 'llāh* itu amat banyak pada hal tiada siapa menghinggakan dia melainkan Allah. Maka barang siapa<sup>6</sup> melihat segala fa'edah-nya neschaya wajib-lah atas-nya berbanyak<sup>7</sup> menguchap dia saperti kata Sanusi : “*Fa 'ala'l-ākili an yukaththira min dhikrihā mustahdiran lima 'htuwat 'alaihi min 'aka'idi'l-īmāni hattā tamtaziḡa ma'a ma'nāhā bi laḥmihī wa damihī fa'innahu yarā lahā min al-asrāri wa'l-ajā'ibi in sha'a 'llāhu mā lā yadkhulu taḡta ḥasrin,*”<sup>8</sup> erti-nya : maka sayogianya atas yang berakal berbanyak kali menguchap *lā ilaha illā'llāh*,

<sup>1</sup> E. resumes.

<sup>2</sup> C. : om.

<sup>3</sup> Old form ?

<sup>4</sup> Metre : Ṭawīl.

<sup>5</sup> Probably not canonical.

<sup>6</sup> C. + hendak.

<sup>7</sup> C. + kali.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bajāri : *Hāshiyat* . . . 'alā matn, commentary on al-Sanusi's *Umm al-barāḥin* with marginal notes by al-Anbābī. Cairo, 1338, margin of pages 52 and 53.

pada hal ia menghadirkan bagi barang (E. 160) yang meliputi ia atas-nya daripada simpulan iman hingga berchampur sakalian<sup>1</sup> itu serta ma'na-nya dengan daging-nya dan darah-nya, maka bahawa sa-nya ia lagi akan di-lihat bagi-nya daripada segala rahsia dan yang aja'ib yang tiada dapat di-hinggakan insha'a'llāh ta'ala.

Ada pun mana *lā ilāha illā'llāh* itu, maka ada kala-nya : *Lā ma'būd aḥad illā'llāh*, dan ada kala-nya : *Lā maṭlūb illā'llāh* dan ada kala-nya : *Lā maujūd illā'llāh*. Maka ini-lah ma'na yang sayogia-nya di-istihdarkan tatkala dhikr Allah itu. Maka tatkala nyata lagi sifat bashariat bagi yang dhikr itu maka di-istihdarkan-nya tatkala menguchap dia : *lā ma'būd illā'llāh* ; dan tatkala padam-lah sifat bashariat dan waswas dan hening-lah hati-nya, atau tatkala ia hendak menuntut sa-suatu daripada Allah dengan dhikr, maka di-istihdarkan-nya tatkala itu : *Lā maṭlūb illā'llāh* ; dan tatkala lenyap lah (E. 161) segala khawatir-nya ya'ni segala chita-nya maka di-istihdarkan-nya tatkala itu : *Lā maujūd illā'llāh*. Kata sa-tengah mereka itu bahawa *Lā ma'būd illā'llāh* (C. 61b) itu mulahazat orang yang muṭtadī ya'ni orang yang baharu masok tarikat, dan *Lā maṭlūb illā'llāh* itu mulahazat orang yang mutawassit ya'ni orang yang pertengahan, dan *Lā maujūd illā'llāh* itu mulahazat orang yang muntahī, ya'ni orang yang sudah kamil. Maka antara dua kata ini tiada berlainan kedua-nya.

Sa-bermula di-pilēh olēh Shaikh kita Burhan al-Din Mulla Ibrahim antara segala ma'na yang tiga itu *Lā ma'būd aḥad illā'llāh* sama ada ia pada muṭtadī atau pada lain-nya karna ketiga itu hukum suatu jua, ya'ni barang kala tiada-lah yang di-sembah dengan sa-benar-nya sa-orang jua pun hanya Allah, neschaya tiada-lah yang di-tuntut dengan sa-benar-nya dan yang maujud dengan sa-benar-nya hanya Allah jua. *Wa'llāhu a'lam*.<sup>2</sup>

Khatimah pada menyatakan yang terlebih hampir hamba kapada Allah. Bermula terlebih hampir hamba kapada Allah itu orang yang telah fana segala sifat-nya pada segala sifat Tuhan<sup>3</sup>-nya dan fana dhat-nya pada dhat Tuhan-nya, tetapi tiada hasil bagi-nya makam ini pada ghalib-nya melainkan dengan mematikan diri-nya daripada segala yang lain-nya daripada Allah saperti telah

<sup>1</sup> C. + nya.

<sup>2</sup> E. ends.

<sup>3</sup> C. : tahun.

di-isharatkan dengan sabda Nabi s.a.w. : “ *Mūtū kabla an tamūtū*, ”<sup>1</sup> jalan kapada fana itu dengan karam dalam dhikr jua, pertama erti-nya : Mematikan diri kamu dahulu daripada mati kamu. Maka ada-lah mati itu dua bagai, suatu ikhtiari nama-nya, kedua mati idtirari nama-nya, maka ada-lah yang di-kehendaki di-sini mati ikhtiari jua, ya'ni menfanakan diri daripada segala yang lain-uya daripada Allah hingga daripada fana-nya pun. Maka ada-lah [dengan memberi bekas-nya pada diri, kemudian maka jadi terperangai-lah kapada-nya kemudian maka dengan di-keras oleh dhikr akan dia hingga di-isi oleh dhikr].<sup>2</sup> Kata Shaikh kita : “ *Idhā tamakkana'l-madhkūru min al-ḥalbi wa'nmaḥaḥa wa khafiya falā yaltafit al-dhākiru ila'l-dhikri walā ila'l-ḥalbi, fa'in ṣahara lahu fī muthābaratihi dhālika iltifatun ila'l-dhikri au ila'l-ḥalbi, fa dhālika hijāb shāghil, wa dhālika huwa'l-fanā*, ”<sup>3</sup> erti-nya : Apabila tetap-lah madhkur itu dalam hati dan hapus-lah dhikr itu dan terbuni-lah ia, maka jangan berpaling yang dhikr itu kapada dhikr dan jangan kapada hati-nya pun ; maka jika nyata bagi-nya pada latēhan (?) yang demikian-nya itu berpaling kapada dhikr atau kapada hati maka demikian-nya itu-lah jadi dinding lagi menyusahkan dia, dan ada-lah tetap madhkur dalam hati dan hapus dhikr dan terbunyi-nya itu bernama fana.

Bermula kesempurnaan fana itu hendak (C. 68a) ada ia fana daripada diri-nya dan daripada fana-nya pun. Maka sebab itu-lah kata sa-tengah merēka itu : “ *litafna ḥattā 'an fanā'ika, fa'innahu 'aynu'l-bakāi fa'inda dhālika tarāhu*, ” erti-nya : Hendak-lah kau-fana diri-mu hingga daripada fana pun, maka bahawa sa-nya fana dari fana itu-lah keadaan baka, maka tatkala itu kau-lihat akan dia tetapi ada-lah ia yang di-lihatkan itu sedikit tetap pada kita. Maka apabila tetap-lah ia pada kita, neschaya baik-lah pada kita, maka apabila tetap-lah ia pada kita (sudah-lah kita wasal) kapada 'alam yang tinggi. *Wa bi'llāh al-taufīk; ṣallā 'llāhu 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi wa sallam. Tammat al-kitāb al-musammā Dakā'ik al-Ḥurūf ta'tif Shaiḥinā 'Abdī'l-Ra'ūf ibn ('Ali). Tammat kitab ini pada hari khamis-nya itu pada waktu duḥā. Amīn yā rabba'l-'Ālamīn. k.b.l.m.n. (?) karna ng.sh (?) Wa'llāhu a'lam.*

<sup>1</sup> Authenticity uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 21, note 2. Original reading : nya dengan memberi diri, kemudian maka dengan perangai, kemudian maka dengan dhikr isi oleh dhikr.

<sup>3</sup> From *al-Simt al-majīd*, by Aḥmad Qushashi, Haidarabad, a.h. 1325, pp. 12-13.

## TRANSLATION

Sometimes the forms in the mirror are small because the mirror is small ; at other times long because the mirror is long ; sometimes they move because the mirror moves ; at others they are reversed because the mirror is above or below. Sometimes the right of the object coincides with the right of the mirror, as when there are many mirrors ; and sometimes the right of the object with the left of the mirror, when the mirror is in front of it. All this serves to demonstrate that the form visible in the mirror is neither the thing reflected nor other than it, for that which is reflected remains as it is ; it does not change ; it is only its reflections in the mirror which vary according to the receptivity of the mirror. It is in this way that we wish to show by a simile implying no anthropomorphism that the manifestations of God in His servants vary because of the differences among His servants and their states.

Some of the Sufis say that the small form reflected in a small mirror is Almighty God manifested in everything according to that thing's receptivity, the long form reflected in the long mirror is God as manifested in the 'Ālam al-Amr or the 'Ālam al-malakūt as it is also called—in other words the world that is invisible to our physical vision ; the reflected form which moves in the moving mirror is like the manifestation of God in everything that turns about and alters at every moment ; the reflection which is reversed when the mirror is below is as when God manifesting Himself in creation is termed creation (*Makhlūk*) ; and the reflection which is reversed when the mirror is placed above is as when creation, manifesting itself in God is termed God (*Ḥakḥ*). The right of the object coinciding with the right in the mirror may be compared with God's manifestation of Himself in the Perfect Man, and the right of the object coinciding with the left of the mirror may be compared with God manifested in the man who is not perfect. All these things are manifestations of Him, they are not He, nor are they other than He. As our Shaikh says : " Being is one in its Essence but manifold in point of its relations. (The Malay reads *nasab* for *nīsab*, and so translates : *bangsa*.) God knoweth best."

This section is to show proofs that the world and all created things are other than Almighty God, and they are very numerous. One of them in the Quran says (13 : 16) " Allah is the creator of all things" and it is unthinkable that they should have made



themselves. Another is to be found in one of the stories of *Ḥadīth Kudsi* : " Oh son of Adam, you will and I will, but there shall not be except what I will. If you surrender to me in what I will, I will give you what you will ; but if you oppose me in what I will, I shall weary you in what you will, then there shall not be except what I will."

From his saying : " I will and you will," it follows that the servant is other than God ; and from : " There shall not be except what I will," it follows that what the servant wills does not come about except when it accords with the will of God ; and from : " If you surrender to Me in what I will I shall give you what you will," it follows that when the servant is mindful of Almighty God, Almighty God is mindful of him, for as the Prophet said to his uncle Abbās : " And even you, oh my uncle, if you remember Him He will remember you," in other words He will grant your requests. Yet another proof is to be derived from our own experience : when we wish to bring about something that we desire or avert something we hate, then we say to it : " Become so and so." If what we wish happens then naturally our heart inclines to say we ourselves are God—even if mistakenly ; but if the thing does not happen, we shall certainly think to ourselves : How is this, for if I were God this thing should have happened ? For the Quran says (36 : 82) : " Whenever He wishes a thing He says to it : ' Be,' and it is "—and then we know we are other than God. But if a man does not realize this and persists in saying that he is God, then he is one of those whom God has led astray and there is none to guide him. As the Quran says (7 : 186) : " Whoever Allah leads astray there is none to guide him." We ask God to preserve us from such error in this and the world to come.

Question : What shall we reply if a person asks whether it is right for one who can say whenever he desires anything " Be " and it is, to assert that his self and all created things are God, or not ? Answer : It is not right for him to say that, for the Prophet said : " He who is pre-eminent among mankind should not make such a claim but should say that he is the servant of God, has his being through Him and belongs to Him." As he said : " We do not exist but through Him and for Him " ; also : " Am I not a grateful servant ? " He did not say : " Am I not my God ? " Moreover he said : " Do not honour me as the Christians honoured the son of Mary for I am but a servant, therefore call me the servant of God

and His apostle." He did not say : " Truly I am He." Do not say anything of that kind, for you will put yourself outside the pale of the Prophet. As our Shaikh says : " Perfection consists in the following of the Prophet."

On the other hand, if a man who has perfect knowledge says this, but in saying it is referring to things at the grade of *Aḥadiyya* from the standpoint that all is obliterated in Him, or if he wishes to guide an intelligent novice to the vision of diversity in unity, there is certainly nothing objectionable in it, and he has as his authority for saying it Shaikh Muḥyi 'l-Dīn—may God sanctify his soul. But if he is not describing this state (of *Aḥadiyya*) and is not guiding a novice it is wrong for him to say it in front of stupid people for whom such statements are an occasion for mishaps, since they should not be taken in their literal sense. The Perfect Man should only say in front of them what is correct and not beyond their intelligence, for the Quran says (33 : 70) : " Say unto them a true saying." And the Prophet said : " Tell to the people what they understand : do you wish to make God and his Prophet liars ? " And Zarrūk said : " It is wrong for Shaikhs to tell novices anything that bewilders them." And the Imām Ghazzālī said : " Sometimes esoteric knowledge may bring disaster to people, as a dung beetle is harmed by the fragrance of rose-water and musk."

If, however, one of the perfect does speak thus and we do not know his intention, then it is our duty to leave what he said to those who have expert knowledge, as Zarrūk said : " Leave such words to him who has uttered them," and all will be well, or explain them correctly, for our lord 'Umar ibn Khaṭāb said : " Do not consider what your brother says evil if you can put a good construction on it—even if you have to interpret it seventy times." And since these words apply to all Muslims, they necessarily apply to the Perfect Man too, and he is certainly better able than we to interpret them.

This saying of our lord is taken from the tradition that runs : " Free the Muslims from restrictions as far as possible, and if you find them a way out, grant it them." If we are among those who can interpret a saying such as this, we should do so, and if we are not, it is our duty to refer it to those who have uttered it, as Zarrūk said, and we should not accuse him of heresy. This is a very dangerous accusation to make. If the man is a *kāfir* why waste words on it ? And if he is not the saying will come back upon ourselves, for the Prophet said : " Let no man accuse another of leading a sinful life

or of infidelity, for the accusation will turn back upon himself if it is false." Such is the danger of accusing another of infidelity ; we take refuge with God from such. Question : What shall we reply if a person asks whether it is safe for any one who hears a saying of this kind from the lips of a perfect Shaikh to make it his own and take it as his (spiritual) food when he is not fit to receive it ? Answer : If he is not fit to receive it, that is to say, his capacity for mystical experience is not sufficiently developed, he is taking something as his (spiritual) food which he should not. He will continually suffer from it, and God will vex him perpetually, and at every visitation of misfortune his condition will bear fresh witness to his lie. It is not as if he will deceive any one, for these words were not for him, even if they seemed sweet. It is for this reason that Ibn 'Atā' Allāh said : " Words can be (spiritual) food even for a careless listener (i.e. one should be careful what one says if one does not know the listener's capacity) but you are only entitled to take as your spiritual food what you fully understand," so that you should not take as your spiritual food words which will kill you, such as saying that you are God, for instance, for that would not be right or true except from the standpoint of obliteration in *Aḥadiyya* as we have explained. Indeed, that saying is the food of those who are annihilated in the *Tauḥīd Dhāt*, which is the highest grade of *Tauḥīd*.

This section is to explain the various grades of *Tauḥīd*. There are four grades of *Tauḥīd*. The first is called *Tauḥīd Ulūhiyya*, and it denies divinity of everything other than God and affirms it of Him. The second is *Tauḥīd Af'āl*, which denies real acts of everything other than God and affirms them of Him. The third is *Tauḥīd Ṣifāt*, which denies real attributes of whatever is other than God and affirms them of Him, and the fourth is called *Tauḥīd Dhāt* or *Tauḥīd Ḥaḳīqī*, and this denies real being for everything other than God and affirms it of Him.

Some of the Sufie say that the *Tauḥīd Af'āl* strips the Acts from everything that is other than God so that there are no acts or effects to be seen in this world except as belonging to the One God. The *Tauḥīd ṣifāt* is the stripping of the Attributes, i.e. Power and Capacity from whatever is other than God. The *Tauḥīd Dhāt* is the stripping of Essence from everything that is other than He, so that there is no essence to be seen in this world except His Essence in its various determinations. This teaching should be understood in the same way as that which has gone before.

There are many texts indicating these four grades of *Tauḥīd*. These are some referring to the *Tauḥīd Ulūhiyya*. The Quran says (21 : 25) : " We have sent no apostle before thee but We revealed unto him that there is no God besides Myself ; wherefore serve Me." And again (Quran, 47 : 19) : " Know that there is no God but Allah." And here are some that indicate the *Tauḥīd Af'āl*. The Quran says (39 : 62) : " Allah is the Creator of all things," and again (Quran, 37 : 96) : " God created you and what you do." And the Prophet said " God is the fashioner of every maker and what he makes." A text in the Quran which indicates the *Tauḥīd Ṣifāt* is (35 : 15) : " Oh men, ye have need of God but God is self-sufficient," for all the attributes of perfection are to be found in Him. And one which indicates the *Tauḥīd Dhāt* is where the Quran says (57 : 3) : " God is the first and the last, the manifest and the hidden." Such are some of the texts that indicate these four grades of *Tauḥīd*.

Our Shaikh says that all this is comprised in a dot, in other words a short phrase which we should recite, meaning that the sentence *lā ilāha illā'llāh* combines the four grades of *Tauḥīd* and indicates them sometimes expressly (*mantūk*)—for *mantūk* is what is expressed by the sounds when they are uttered—and sometimes by inference (*iltizām*).

The expression *lā ilāha illā'llāh* indicates the *Tauḥīd Ulūhiyya* by its mere utterance, for this denies the attribute of Divinity of everything other than God and affirms it of Him. And when Divinity is lacking in everything other than God because of its imperfection and is affirmed of Him on account of His perfection, the denial of Acts, Attributes, and Essence of everything other than He also follows because of its imperfection, but these too may be found in Him. And so it is clear that whoever recites *lā ilāha illā'llāh* always makes the profession of the Unity with these four grades of *Tauḥīd*. Therefore we should recite it frequently since it embodies all that we have said above, and as the prophet in a long tradition said : " Multiply your recitation of *lā ilāha illā'llāh* before there is a barrier between you and it." But you must recite it with purity of heart and reverence, for the prophet said : " Whoever recites *lā ilāha illā'llāh* with a pure heart will enter Paradise."

One of the blessings of reciting it frequently is that it becomes absorbed in our hearts. This is achieved firstly by reciting it, letting it make its mark upon ourself until it becomes part of our flesh and blood, and then by hammering it upon our heart through assiduous

recitation until the heart is completely filled by it. If it is absorbed and secure in the heart when we are alive it will certainly be secure there at the moment of death ; if it is fixed there at the moment of death it will be secure there at the Day of Judgment on the Field of Assembly, as our Shaikh says in the *Ḳaṣd al-Saḅil* : “ Truly a man dies in the way he has lived and will be assembled on the day of judgment according to the way he has died.” In other words whoever is absorbed in the *dhikr* and whose heart is fixed in it (during life) so shall he be at the moment of death, and whoever is absorbed in matters of this world (during life) so shall he be at the time of his death and resurrection from the tomb. And this shall be the case with those who associate with him in this, for God will make him see those who have been persevering in it with him, as is quoted from Mujahid in the book *Tadhkirah* by Shaikh (Jamal) al-Dīn Ḳurturbī—may God sanctify his soul : “ Every one who dies will be shown the companions with whom he associated. If they were people of frivolity they will be people of frivolity, and if they were people of *dhikr* they will be people of *dhikr*.” Therefore we should seek companions and friends of good character, who practise the *dhikr*, as the verse says : “ If you are with people befriend the best of them, do not befriend the wicked, for if you do you will perish with them.” We should also have *lā ilāha illā'llāh* fixed in our hearts when death approaches so that it may be secure there at the moment of death for that is the time when it is most important for it to be secure, for death is a very dangerous passage. Let us then exhort those who are dying to recite : “ *lā ilāha illā'llāh*,” for the Prophet said : “ Urge your dying to recite *lā ilāha illā'llāh*, for truly that sentence can efface every sin.”

The blessings of making the *dhikr* so close a part of our being that we become oblivious to ourselves in it are so numerous that God alone can number them. It is the duty of whoever sees these blessings to recite it often, for as Sanūsī says : “ It is the duty of the intelligent to multiply his recitation of the *dhikr*, conscious of what it contains of the fundamentals of belief, until it and its meaning unite with his flesh and blood and he finds in it—if God so wills—secrets and wonders which defy enumeration.”

Sometimes this phrase means : “ There is none served except God,” sometimes : “ There is nothing sought except God,” and sometimes : “ There is no being except God.” These are the meanings we must keep in mind while reciting it.



When the reciter is still conscious of his human attributes, let him call to mind while reciting : " There is none served except God." When human attributes and preoccupations have been extinguished and his heart is clear, or when he wishes to ask something of God through the *dhikr*, let him call to mind : " There is none sought except God." And when all his anxieties are vanished, let him call to mind : " There is no being except God." Some of the Sufis say that novices on the path concentrate their attention on " There is none served except God ", those who are half-way, on : " There is none sought except God," and those who have attained, i.e. those who are perfect, on : " There is no Being except that of God." But there is no difference between these two opinions.

Of these three interpretations of the *Kalimah* our Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn Mulla Ibrāhīm has chosen " There is none served except God " as suitable for the novice as for the others, for each of these three meanings conveys the same idea. In other words : at any time that which is truly worshipped and sought and has true being is God alone. God knoweth best.

This is the conclusion which tells of those who are closest to God. Those closest to him are they whose attributes and essence are annihilated into those of their Lord. As a rule they can only achieve this by making themselves dead to everything other than Him, as the Prophet pointed out by saying : " Die before you die." There are two kinds of death, one voluntary and the other compulsory, but here we refer to the former, that is to say, the annihilation of the self from everything other than God—even from annihilation itself. Annihilation to self through absorption in the *dhikr* is achieved firstly by reciting it, letting it make its mark upon our self until it becomes part of our flesh and blood, and then by hammering it upon our heart through assiduous recitation until the heart is completely filled by it. Our Shaikh says : " When the formula of the *dhikr* is in possession of the heart and absorbed and hidden then let not the reciter turn (his attention) to the *dhikr* or his heart for if this occurs in the practice of the *dhikr*, it becomes a veil and encumbers him (but when the formula of *dhikr* is secure in his heart, absorbed and hidden), that is *fanā'*."

The completion of *fanā'* must be in annihilation from the self, even from annihilation itself. For this reason some of them have said : " Pursue *fanā'* even to the point of oblivion of *fanā'* itself,

for that is *baḳā'*, and then you shall see Him." But this vision (at first) is not permanent, but when it is permanent that is good, for then we shall have attained the lofty world. Guidance is of God. May His blessings and peace be upon our leader Muḥammad and his household and companions. Here ends the book entitled Daḳā'ik al-Ḥurūf composed by our Shaikh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf ibn ('Ali) finished on Thursday morning. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds. God knoweth best.

## The Ethiopic Inscription from Egypt

By E. ULLENDORFF

IN the *JRAS.*, 1954, pp. 119 ff., Professor Enno Littmann, the Nestor of Ethiopic epigraphists, published a Gə'əz inscription from Egypt together with two photographs, a vocalized version and a translation. His decipherment covers seven lines of widely varying legibility, but it appears from scratches visible in fig. 1 that the original inscription contained at least two further lines of which nothing can be recognized to-day. Littmann acknowledges (*ibid.*, p. 121) that most of the restorations, especially those following upon line 3, are "mere conjectures". This view is, indeed, borne out by study of the inscription and by its very bad state of preservation. In other words: of an inscription of probably nine lines barely a third is in a condition offering a reasonable basis for decipherment. When one remembers that most Ethiopic inscriptions (as, indeed, Oriental epigraphic documents in general) are provided with a generous portion of a preliminary and introductory character, one soon realizes that hopes of a substantial enrichment of Gə'əz epigraphy are bound to be disappointed. This does not mean that the remaining three lines are of no value; any contribution to the not over-abundant inscriptional material of early Ethiopic deserves attention. Professor Littmann and Mr. Meredith have placed Semitists in their debt by making this still unvocalized Gə'əz inscription available for general discussion.

The following observations <sup>1</sup> are concerned with those parts only which by their state of preservation admit of a reasonable interpretation without undue reliance on conjectural readings or restorations.

There is no doubt about line 1 where the reading 'anā 'Abreha <sup>2</sup> "I Abreha" is clear. In line 2 the word-divider and one letter are missing. It is, however, virtually certain that the missing character must be ' , and the consonantal skeleton of the whole line would thus read: *tkl 'ksm*. The pointing of the second word as 'Aksum, the name of the ancient capital of Ethiopia, is obvious, but *tkl* offers

<sup>1</sup> I submitted my views to Professor Littmann who, in the course of the ensuing correspondence, encouraged me to publish my remarks. I have reason to believe that Professor Littmann is in substantial agreement with many of the points adduced in the following.

<sup>2</sup> I am using my own mode of transcription which I have endeavoured to justify in my *Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: A Comparative Phonology*, London, 1955.

difficulties. Littmann reads *Täklä* and thus obtains a name *Täklä Aksum* which is not otherwise attested. Littmann himself points out that the element *Täklä* "plant" is "generally combined with the names of Divinity or of saints" (p. 121), and his "generally" may well be strengthened to "always". Even *Täklä Šayon* "Plant of Zion" is no exception, for *Šayon* is here used in its visionary, "transcendental" connotation, whether applied to Jerusalem or Aksum itself. Apart from that, it seems to me extremely improbable that a name of the importance of *Täklä Aksum* could have failed to come down to us, if it had existed, especially as we are so well supplied with Ethiopic proper names. A still weightier objection to finding a name in line 2 springs from syntactical considerations: line 3 begins with *w* "and" and clearly introduces a fresh clause: "I [am] Abreha *Täklä Aksum* and I stayed here" gives us a very awkward sentence, especially in Ethiopic.

I am therefore inclined to find a common noun in *tkl*. That Abreha would then appear without a patronymic need not disconcert us, for the omission often occurs in Gə'əz inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The only possible pointing would seem to be *tākali* (or here in the construct state: *tākale*). The verb *tākälä* in the meaning "to found, to establish" occurs frequently<sup>2</sup> in the Aksum inscriptions (*wätākälu mänbärä bāzəyyä* "and He established a throne here"—Littmann, op. cit., x, 24; see also xi, *passim*), and the form *tākali* is expressly mentioned by Ludolf, *Lexicon*, col. 266.

In line 3 *bāzəyyä* "here" should read *bähəyyä* "there". The narrowing of the vertical strokes towards the bottom (clear especially in fig. 1) excludes the reading *z* and confirms that of *h*.<sup>3</sup>

In line 4 Littmann's reading of the first letter as *m* could be defended on the basis of fig. 2, but fig. 1 clearly establishes the identity of this character as *w*.<sup>3</sup>

My transcription and translation of the first three lines of this inscription are as follows:—

<i>ʾanä ʾAbrəha</i>	I Abreha
<i>tākale ʾAksum</i>	am the founder of Aksum
<i>wähädärku bähəyyä</i>	and have my domicile there.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. among others the obelisk of Maṭara where ʾAgaz appears alone (Littmann, *Aksum Expedition*, iv, p. 61; Ullendorff, *JRAS.*, 1951, pp. 26 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> See also some of the very relevant passages quoted in Dillmann's *Lexicon*.

<sup>3</sup> This is now also acknowledged by Prof. Littmann on further examination of fig. 1 (letter of 27th December, 1954).

The Abreha here mentioned is unlikely to be identical with any of several persons by that name known to us, though Professor Littmann considers that there is "a slight possibility that our Abreha was one of the missionaries who introduced Christianity into the kingdom of Aksum" (letter of 17th December, 1954). If so, "founder of Aksum" might conceivably mean "founder of [the church of] Aksum". In a later communication Littmann mentions the possibility that Abreha "may have established buildings at Aksum; he may have been an architect who got his training in Egypt, and he may have been on his way to Egypt, in order to pay a visit to his teachers or friends". I think that both these suggestions deserve serious consideration.

On the basis of this very fragmentary text I find it quite impossible to offer definite views either on the identity of this Abreha or on the exact interpretation of *täkale 'Aksum*. It is probable that the remainder of the inscription—now so tantalizingly removed from our view—may have offered a clue to an understanding of the first lines. The verb *täkälä* is fairly vague and does not by itself tell us whether the foundation of either the Church or town of Aksum was involved—or, perhaps, simply the establishment of some part of Aksum or of a representative building in it. The object of this brief note is simply to establish a tolerable text on the basis of what can actually be recognized; any interpretation must remain uncertain as long as the bulk of the inscription cannot be read.



## Field Notes on the Arabic Literature of the Western Sudan: Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio

By W. E. N. KENSDALE

IN January and February of 1954 the writer travelled some 4,000 miles through the Northern Region of Nigeria in search of Arabic manuscripts for the Library of the University College of Ibadan, and also to make a survey of the indigenous Arabic literature of the peoples of the Western Sudan. There was no means beforehand of determining whether any manuscripts would be found at all, or whether, if they still existed, their possessors would part with them. The tour proved profitable in both respects, however; over 150 works were obtained, most of which are unknown outside Nigeria and very few of which have ever been printed. Some were generously donated, but most were purchased at the "market price", for the scribes are still busy in the more remote districts, although the popularity of the printed texts from Egypt is an increasing threat to their livelihood. In Kano, the largest town of the Northern Region, it was impossible to find a scribe at work and there Arabic manuscripts were, in consequence, rare and expensive. Some local bibliophiles, understandably reluctant to give or sell volumes which they could not replace, nevertheless lent them for microfilming. There was, generally, considerable interest shown towards this work and, since returning to Ibadan, manuscripts have been received by post from self-appointed agents, which is most encouraging.

As a whole, the Ibadan collection now affords important material for research into the history and culture of the Western Sudan during the past two centuries. It includes many works by the great figures of Nigerian history, together with specimens of the writings of contemporary Arabists. Arabic is said to be a dying language in this country, but it is still widely understood and original works are still being written, although their fame is only local. (Frequently the records of the alkali's courts are still kept in Arabic and translated later into English for administrative purposes.)

These necessarily general remarks are intended only as a preliminary report; a catalogue of the collection is in preparation and this, when published, will describe individual items. However, the

tour led to the acquiring of information about many works copies of which were unobtainable at that time, and from such information and other sources (noted below) it has been possible to compile lists of the Arabic writings of the most prominent Nigerian men of letters. These supplement the catalogue and will, it is hoped, be of value to others who may have the opportunity of similarly collecting and preserving this literature. The following notes and list are offered as an introduction to the works of Shehu Usumanu ḍan Fodio, the Reformer.

*Shehu Usumanu ḍan Fodio*

Shehu Usumanu ḍan Fodio was born at Marata, in the state of Gobir, in the year 1754. He was a Fulani of the Toronke tribe, and the form of his name used above is the Hausa rendering, by which he is usually known. The Fulani form is Usmanu Bi-Foduye. The Arabic form in which it appears on his manuscripts is 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn at-Takrūrī al-Mālikī al-Ash'arī, known as Ibn Fūdī. The term Shehu (Arabic *shaykh*) came to be used as his personal name rather than a title, and he is popularly referred to to-day as Shehu Usumanu or simply Shehu, and parents name their sons Shehu in his memory (cf. Mallam Shehu Sokoto below).<sup>1</sup>

As a young man he is said to have been an earnest student with a gift for languages. He was brought up as a Muslim, instructed in the Mālikī *madhhab*, and went to Agades to continue his studies. On his return to Gobir he became a teacher and eloquent preacher. He saw it as his mission to call the peoples of the Hausa states to abandon the pagan practices which had corrupted their Islam and to return to strict orthodoxy. His following by the time he reached the age of forty-eight was considerable and not confined to members of his own tribe.

His increasing prestige and influence became such as to give him political importance and eventually aroused the jealousy of the Kings of Gobir. A threatened attack upon his stronghold at Degel caused him in 1804 to make a prudent withdrawal to Gudu, this being the famous *hijra*. Now his followers rallied, styled him *amīr al-mu'minīn*, and proclaimed a *jihād* against all who opposed him. In six years, after varying fortunes, all the Hausa states, Nupe,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the widespread use of Sheha as a masculine personal name in East Africa (T. Price, "The 'Arabs' of the Zambezi." In *Muslim World*, vol. xlv, 1, 1954).

Adamawa, and parts of Bornu were subject to Fulani emirs owing allegiance to Usumanu. He himself took little part in the fighting; in 1808 he divided the administration of his empire between his son, Muhammadu Bello, and his brother Abdullahi. He died in Sokoto in 1817.

Usumanu has been described as the national hero of the Nigerian Fulani<sup>1</sup> but he is venerated by many who are not Fulanis and certainly his fame extends beyond the frontiers of this country. In his lifetime he became the acknowledged ruler of five million people, and his dominions extended over an area of more than a hundred thousand square miles. Since his death, Sokoto has become a city of pilgrimage and his tomb a shrine. The dynasty which he founded still survives, the present Sultan of Sokoto being a direct descendant and, by virtue of this, the spiritual leader of most of the Muslims of the Western Sudan.

His political significance has been treated by several writers,<sup>2</sup> but for the most part his considerable literary activities have been ignored. Their earliest mention is to be found in a work by his son, Muhammadu Bello, his successor on the throne of Sokoto, entitled *Infāq al-maisūr fī ta'rīkh bilād at-takrūr*. Bello records that his father was the author of more than a hundred works and lists twenty-eight titles.<sup>3</sup> The tour enabled Ibadan to acquire copies<sup>4</sup> of thirty-six, all in Arabic, and these or their photographic reproductions are now preserved in the University College Library. Other manuscripts are to be found in Nigeria, in the Native Administration Arabic Library, Kano, and in the Library of Lugard Memorial Hall, Kaduna (the Northern Regional House of Assembly). Permission to microfilm both these collections has been granted. The Director of Education (Northern Region) has supplied a list of the Kaduna titles, and those in Kano I was able to inspect briefly myself.

For Usumanu to have written or compiled over a hundred works

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Bovill, *Caravans of the Old Sahara*, etc., London, 1933, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Bovill; S. J. Hogben, *The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria*, London, 1930; E. J. Arnett, *Gazetteer of Sokoto Province*, London, 1920; F. de F. Daniel, "Shehu dan Fodio" (in *Journal of the African Society*, xxv, 1925-6); articles "Sokoto" (M. Delafosse) and "Pul" (A. Werner) in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Infaku'l Maisuri*, edited . . . by C. E. J. Whitting, etc., London, 1951, p. 187. See also E. J. Arnett, *The rise of the Sokoto Fulani, being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of the Infaku'l Maisuri* (Kano, 1922), p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> All efforts to trace the originals have been unsuccessful. They have not, I believe, been preserved in Sokoto.

in the course of an active career was a considerable achievement, but not all of these are of the first importance. Some are abridgements of the writings of earlier Arab authors, others are replies to requests for information on matters of *fiqh*, others are brief pronouncements to settle points at issue. There are several short devotional poems of little interest. On the other hand, there are substantial original compositions which await appraisal. The list of eighty-five titles given below will, it is hoped, give an impression of the scope of his writings and supply details of works so far untraced.

The most important single source for these titles was a list of forty-seven which is in the possession of the Imam Jami'i, of Gusau, and which was copied during a night spent in that town. A list of thirty-seven was supplied in Sokoto by a Mallam Shehu of the Native Administration. Both these lists are, on the whole, reliable in respect of such titles as it has been possible to acquire or to check from other sources, and are probably equally reliable throughout. Only four lists of Usumanu's works have been published previously and these are :—

(1) C. E. J. Whitting, "The Unprinted Indigenous Arabic Literature of Northern Nigeria." An article contributed to this journal (1943-4). Whitting noted twenty-two titles, some of them dubious.

(2) G. Vajda, "Contribution à la connaissance de la littérature arabe en Afrique Occidentale" (*Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, tome xx, fasc. 2, 1950). A catalogue of some previously ignored West African Arabic manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, seven of which are by Usumanu.

(3) Adamu Abdullahi al-Ilūrī, *Al-islām fī nājiryā wa-'uthmān b. fādī*, Cairo, A.H. 1370. A short historical work by a contemporary Nigerian Arabist. On p. 41 twenty works by Usumanu are listed.

(4) Bello's list mentioned above.

In the list below reference has been made against each title to such libraries as are known to possess copies. In the case of titles of which no manuscripts have yet come to light, the source from which each was obtained is noted. The following abbreviations have been used :—

BN. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

G. The Gusau list.

GAL. C. Brockelmann : Geschichte d. arab. Lit. 2<sup>e</sup> Aufl. 1943/9. Suppl. 1937/42.

- I. The Library, University College of Ibadan (manuscripts or microfilm, etc.).  
 II. al-Ilūrī's list.  
 K. N.A. Arabic Library, Kano.  
 L. The Library of Lugard Memorial Hall, Kaduna.  
 M. Muhammadu Bello's list (*Infaku'l Maisuri*, ed. Whitting, etc., p. 187).  
 S. The Sokoto list.  
 W. Whitting's list.

## LIST OF TITLES

- (1) al-ādāb. K. (W. ādāb.)
- (2) ādāb al-ākhirā. W.
- (3) ādāb al-'ādāt. W. (G. attributes a work with this title to Abdullahi dan Fodio, Usumanu's brother.)
- (4) ittibā' as-sunna wa-tark al-bid'a. I.
- (5) ihyā' as-sunna wa-ikhmād al-bid'a. I., BN., L.
- (6) akhlāq al-muṣṭafā. W.
- (7) irshād al-umma. S.
- (8) irshād ahl at-tafrīṭ wal-ifrāt ilā sawā' as-ṣirāt fī fann 'ilm uṣūl ad-dīn. I.
- (9) irshād al-'ibād ilā ḥaḍrat al-ma'būd. G.
- (10) irshād al-'ibād ilā masā'il al-jihād. G.
- (11) as'ilat shīmaṣ. G. (S. as'ilat shīmaṣ [?].)
- (12) asānīd ad-da'if. I.
- (13) asānīd al-faqīr. M., G., S.
- (14) uṣūl ad-dīn. I.
- (15) uṣūl al-'adl li-wilāyat al-umūr wa-ahl al-faql. I., L.
- (16) uṣūl al-wilāya wa-shurūṭuhā. I.
- (17) ifhām al-munkirīn. G. (W. ifhām al-munkirīn.)
- (18) al-amr bi-muwālāt al-mu'minīn wan-nahy 'an muwālāt al-kāfirīn. I.
- (19) bayān al-bida' ash-shaitānīya allatī aḥdathahā an-nās fī abwāb al-milla al-muḥammadiya. I., BN.
- (20) bayān rujū' ash-shaikh as-sanūsī 'an at-tashdīd wa-'an at-taqlīd. M. (G. lacks wa-'an at-taqlīd.)
- (21) bayān al-'adl. G.
- (22) bayān wujūb al-hijra 'ala 'l-'ibād wa-bayān wujūb naṣb al-imām wa-iqāmat al-jihād. I.
- (23) tabshīr al-ikhwān. G. (Juneidu, Wazirin Sokoto, perhaps the most learned of contemporary Nigerian Arabists, informed the writer that this should be attributed to Muhammadu Bello.)
- (24) tabshīr al-umma al-aḥmadiya bi-bayān ba'd al-manāqib al-qādiriya. K.
- (25) tibyān. W. (G. attributes a work entitled at-tibyān to Abdullahi dan Fodio.)
- (26) taḥdhīr al-ikhwān min iddi'ā' al-mahdiya al-mau'ūda ākhir az-zamān. I., K.
- (27) tuḥfat al-ḥabīb. I.



- (28) *targhīb al-‘ubbād fi ḥifẓ ‘ulūm dīn allāh*. M. (Presumably to be inferred from Whitting's text; II. gives only *targhīb al-‘ubbād*.)
- (29) *tarwīyat al-umma*. G., S.
- (30) *at-taṣawwuf*. M., II. (Vajda notes under the heading *taṣawwuf* a BN. manuscript by an ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad, which lacks a title. It consists of extracts from al-*Ghazālī*, see *Index général des manuscrits arabes musulmans de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris, 1953, p. 738.)
- (31) *talkhīṣ asrār kalām al-ḥārith al-muḥāsibī*. I. (The Ibadan MS. omits *talkhīṣ* from the title, but cf. M. *kitāb talkhīṣ wa-kitāb al-ḥārith al-muḥāsibī*. In E. J. Arnett's paraphrased translation of *Infāq al-maisūr*, entitled *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, etc. (Kano, 1922), p. 126, the title is given as *Talhisu Muharibi*.)
- (32) *tamyīz al-muslimīn min al-kāfirīn*. I.
- (33) *tanbīh al-ikhwān fi arḍ as-sūdān*. (This work, mentioned by G., S., and W., was quoted by E. J. Arnett as one of his sources for the *Gazetteer of Sokoto Province*, London, 1920 (p. 9). It has been translated by Sir H. R. Palmer in the *Journal of the African Society*, 1913-14, 1914-15, under the title "An Early Fulani Conception of Islam".)
- (34) *tanbīh al-umma ‘alā qurb hujūm aṣhrāṭ as-sā’a*. K.
- (35) *tanbīh al-ghāfilīn wa-tanzīm al-akhbār*. I., L.
- (36) *tahdhīb al-ikhwān*. W.
- (37) *tahdhīb al-insān*. W.
- (38) *tauqīf al-muslimīn*. S.
- (39) *al-jāmi’*. G.
- (40) *al-jihād*. M.
- (41) *ḥisn al-afḥām min juyūsh al-auḥām*. I., BN.
- (42) *ḥikam juhhāl balad ḥausā*. I.
- (43) *da‘wat al-‘ibād ilā kitāb allāh*. M. (S. gives only *da‘wat al-‘ibād*.)
- (44) *sirāj al-ikhwān fi aḥamm mā yuḥtāj ilaih fī ḥādhā’z-zamān*. I., BN., L.
- (45) *as-salāsīl adh-dhahabiya lis-sādāt aṣ-ṣūfiya*. I.
- (46) *as-salāsīl al-qādiriya*. I.
- (47) *sauq al-umma ilā ittibā’ as-sunna*. I. (two copies), K.
- (48) *sauq aṣ-ṣiddīqīn ilā ḥaḍrat al-quḍs*. I. (M., G., and S. provide a title *sauq aṣ-ṣādiqīn*, presumably the same work.)
- (49) *shifā’ al-ghalīl fī kull mā aṣkal min kalām shaikhinā jibrīl*. M. (which has *al-qalīl* for *al-ghalīl*). G. (which gives only *shifā’ al-ghalīl*).
- (50) *shifā’ an-nufūs*. G., S.
- (51) *shams al-ikhwān yastaḍī’ūna bihi fī uṣūl al-adyān*. BN.
- (52) *ṭarīq al-janna*. K., L.
- (53) *al-‘aql al-awwal*. II. (Probably to be identified with No. 62.)
- (54) *‘ulūm al-mu‘āmalā*. M., G., S.
- (55) *‘umdat al-bayān*. M., W.
- (56) *‘umdat al-‘ubbād fimā yudān allāh bihi min jihat aṣ-ṣalāt waṣ-ṣaum wa-tilāwat al-qur’ān*. I., BN., K.
- (57) *‘umdat al-‘ulamā’*. K., L.
- (58) *‘umdat al-muta’abbidīn wal-muḥtarifīn*. I.

- (59) al-farq bain 'ilm uṣūl ad-dīn wa-'ilm al-kalām. L.  
 (60) al-farq bain 'ilm at-tauhīd wa-'ilm al-kalām. G.  
 (61) al-farq bain wilāyat ahl al-islām wa-wilāyat ahl al-kufr. K.  
 (62) al-faṣl al-awwal. M. (Cf. no. 53.)  
 (63) al-qāṣida ad-dāliya. I.  
 (64) qat' al-khiṣām alladhī yaqa' bain ṭalabat 'ilm al-kalām. I.  
 (65) al-qawā'id az-zarrūqīya. G., S.  
 (66) qawā'id aṣ-ṣalāt. I. (There is some doubt as to whether this should be attributed to Usumanu. His name does not appear on the Ibadan manuscript, nor is the title mentioned in any of the lists consulted. Local opinion is divided, some mallams insisting upon Usumanu's authorship, others denying this.)  
 (67) kashf al-ghumma. S.  
 (68) kashf mā 'alaiḥ al-'amal. I.  
 (69) kaff at-ṭalibīn 'an takfīr 'awāmm al-mu'minīn. G., II. (also M. with al-muslimīn for al-mu'minīn).  
 (70) kifāyat al-muhtadīn. G. (S. attributes a work of this title to Muhammadu Bello.)  
 (71) mir'āt at-ṭalib. L.  
 (72) mir'āt at-tullāb fī mustanad al-abwāb li-dīn allāh. L.  
 (73) masā'il muhimma. I., BN. (Given by Vajda as masā'il mulhama.)  
 (74) miṣbāḥ al-muhtadīn. I.  
 (75) mi'rāj al-'awāmm. G.  
 (76) al-mahdī al-muntazar. I.  
 (77) mawāḍi' auhām at-ṭalaba fī kutub 'ilm al-kalām li-'ulamā' al-milla. I.  
 (78) najm al-ikhwān. I., L.  
 (79) naṣā'iḥ al-umma al-muḥammadiya. I.  
 (80) naṣīḥat ahl az-zamān. K., L. (W. attributed a work by this title to Abdullahi ḍan Fodio.)  
 (81) nūr al-albāb. I., BN., L. Cf. GAL. 2<sup>e</sup> Aufl., Bd. II, p. 656.  
 (82) an-nīya. W.  
 (83) hidāyat at-tullāb. I.  
 (84) al-hamziya. W. (Juneidu, Wazirin Sokoto, denied that Usumanu wrote a poem with this title.)  
 (85) al-wird. I.

*Note.*—Although this has no place in a list of Usumanu's Arabic writings, mention should be made of a short poem which he composed in Fulani known as the "Song of Sheik Usman", the text and an English translation of which are to be found in F. W. Taylor, *A Grammar of the Adamawa Dialect of the Fulani Language (Fulfulde)*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1953, pp. 121-3. There is, also, a reference to Usumanu's vernacular poems in Ḥajj Sa'īd's history of Sokoto.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tedzkiret en-nisiān fī akhbār molouk es-soudān. Texte arabe édité par O. Houdas, etc. (Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, IV<sup>e</sup> Série, vol. xix), Paris, 1899, p. 190.*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Near and Middle East

PERSIAN GRAMMAR. By ANN K. S. LAMBTON. pp. xxiv + 275.  
Cambridge University Press, 1953. 35s.

"A really scientific grammar of first-class merit yet remains to be written." So wrote Professor Browne in 1902. To-day, after the lapse of 50 years, his statement has ceased to be valid. With her unrivalled knowledge of the Persian language Professor Lambton has produced a work that will long remain the standard textbook. As was to be expected, the treatment of pronunciation and the spoken language is particularly excellent; and the distinction between the different usages of a word like *tā* is admirably presented.

The following small points may perhaps be found worthy of consideration in the preparation of a second edition. Verbs of such types as *sūxtan* (*sūz*), *dāštan* (*dār*), etc., might usefully be grouped together, and in the list of irregular verbs in Appendix I the English meanings ought to be added. Contrary to IV, 13, the suffixed pronouns may be used instead of *xod*, etc., in all persons; their addition to simple prepositions (IV, 10) is purely colloquial. There is no explanation of the plural of respect, so common in both the spoken and the written language, although examples are given on p. 168. Finally, the lessons in Part I are perhaps a little overloaded, a burden which might be lightened by the relegation to Part II of all purely classical material.

These are, however, trifling criticisms of an extremely useful work for which teacher and student will be equally grateful.

J. A. BOYLE.

ESSENTIALS OF MODERN TURKISH. By HERMAN H. KREIDER.  
pp. xii + 328. Middle East Institute, Washington, 1954.

This work contains a useful and fairly comprehensive outline of Turkish grammar and syntax. There are some regrettable omissions, such as the explanation of the Reflexive and Reciprocal forms; nor is it shown how the various particles, which form the passive, causative, impotential, etc., can be combined to form one complicated verb.

Exactly half the work is taken up by vocabularies. Much of

their contents has been given in the text ; and it would have been better to omit the final vocabularies and accustom the student to use a proper dictionary. Most bad mistakes in translation arise from the use of such vocabularies and small dictionaries which often give very inadequate translations. For example, here the word "overlook" is rendered only by *gözden kaçırmak*, which is only one and perhaps the least common meaning of the word ; "occasion" is translated only by *vesile*, while for "property" *emlâk*, *servet* are given but not the essential word *mal*. Many translations are inaccurate, e.g. "obscene" = *menfur*, *edepsiz*, "outlaw" = *kaçak*, *haydut*, "snub" = *hiçe saymak* and so forth. There are not a few real errors : *alınmak* does not mean "to be taken in", but "to take offence" ; "to stipulate" is not *tespit etmek*, but *şart koymak* ; *estağfurullah* does not mean literally "God forbid !", but "I ask pardon of God".

One must feel grateful that the author's "modern" Turkish is Turkish and not the horrible jargon now used by some official circles and by third-rate journalists.

H. C. HONY.

---

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES : Vol. III : THE KINGDOM OF ACRE AND THE LATER CRUSADES. By S. RUNCIMAN. pp. xii + 530. Cambridge University Press, 1954.

Except for a short epilogue on the later Crusades of the 14th and 15th centuries, this volume is devoted to the decline of Outremer from the disaster of Hattin to the fall of Acre (1187-1291). It is a period rich in memorable events : the vicissitudes of the Third Crusade, and the fateful conquest of Constantinople, so long the bulwark of the Christian world against dangers from the East ; the illusory success won by the Emperor Frederick, and the ominous defeat of Saint Louis ; the swift irruption of the Mongols and their momentous repulse at Ain Jalud ; finally, the Mamluk offensive that was soon to drive the Latins from the Syrian littoral. As in the earlier volumes, Mr. Runciman has consulted a wide range of sources and has known how to combine these diverse themes into a lucid and balanced narrative, a stirring tale of high courage and ignoble rivalries, of transient splendour and ultimate disillusion. In the last pages he gives his verdict on the Crusades. He sees in them "a tragic and destructive episode" in the ceaseless interaction between

East and West, "a long act of intolerance in the name of God." Whatever may be the truth of this well considered but none the less personal judgment, it will hardly be disputed that Mr. Runciman, with this final volume, has brought his remarkable enterprise to a successful and impressive conclusion.

V. S. PARRY.

---

HANDLIST OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS. Vol. I. (The Chester Beatty Library.) Ed. A. J. ARBERRY. pp. 125, pl. 35. Dublin: Emery Walker, 1955.

No striking discovery of lost treasures is recorded here. There are plenty of MSS. which are probably unique but they do not promise sleepless nights of excitement, being mostly books on archery, magic, or Shi'a theology or commentaries on law books. The value of the collection lies in the number of dated MSS., of holographs and of autographs of scholars in notes, licences, or certificates. A full entry gives the title, author with his dates, subject, nature of script, date, copyist, and a reference to Brockelmann. Students should be grateful for the generous allowance of 35 fine plates, though one would like a note on no. 33. Is it a palimpsest? Does the writing on the other side show through or is it blotted from the opposite page? No Arabic type is used, all names and Arabic words being transliterated; a comparison of the title of no. 3159 (3) with that of no. 3191 shows that the system is not entirely consistent. There seems to be a misprint in no. 3227. The title of no. 3011 should be *kitāb al gharībain* or *al-ghāribān* as Yāqūt has it. The list does not indicate when a MS. is accompanied by a facsimile. There is no index of copyists. At a first glance the index of authors is confusing: the reader is left to find out that every name is entered several times under each of its component parts and the part in small capitals shows where the required information will be found. Thus he can look for Sirāj al-dīn Maslama al-Tabbān under s, m, or t, and will not need to look at more than two entries to find out what he wants even if he does not know the full name. The book is good to look at and a joy to handle.

A. S. TRITTON.

---



RECUEIL DES TESSÈRES DE PALMYRE. By K. INGHOLT, K. SEYRIG, J. STARCKY, A. CAQUOT. Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth : Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Tome LVIII. pp. x + 203 and plates i-xlix. Geuthner, Paris, 1955.

All the Palmyrene *tesseræ* that are as yet known are catalogued and described in this admirable work, and almost all have been actually handled by one or other of the authors before being recorded here ; there are 1,132 in number, of which each has been photographed and reproduced in the plates. The work is divided into a brief section describing the collections in which the *tesseræ* now rest, followed by a bibliography, then the *recueil des tessères* which constitute the main part of the work and in which each piece is separately described (number, shape, detailed description of figures and ornament and reproduction of text on both obverse and reverse sides), list of works consulted, a study of the language and an index of all the proper names, and then the plates. So far as a reviewer can see, the work leaves nothing to be desired and is a model of its kind. The descriptions of the objects are accurate and the attributions trustworthy ; and the photographs, which are notoriously difficult to take since *tesseræ* are often badly worn, are admirable.

G. R. DRIVER.

### Far East

SILVER JUBILEE VOLUME OF THE ZIMBUN-KAGAKU-KENKYUSO. pp. xvi + 603. Kyoto University, Kyoto, 1954.

As this volume contains forty-two contributions, no review of it, in the ordinary sense of the word, is possible. The articles come from Germany, France, Britain, India, and America ; there are eleven contributions (in English) by Japanese scholars. Among them are many that make important contributions to knowledge. I would mention H. W. Bailey's "Madu, a contribution to the history of wine", G. G. Pulleyblank's "A Geographical Text of the Eighth Century", Takeo Abe's "Where was the Capital of the West Uighurs?", Motonosuke Amano's "Dry Farming and the Ch'i-min yao-shu", and Zenryu Tsukamoto's "The Dates of Kumarajiva and Seng-chao Re-examined".

ARTHUR WALEY.

THE MONGOL MISSION. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Edited by CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. pp. xli + 246. London, 1955. 18s.

These new versions of John of Piano Carpini's *History of the Mongols* and of William of Rubruck's long report of his journey to Mangu the Mongol Khan, together with the letters of John of Monte Corvino, Andrew of Perugia, and the doubtful letter of Peregrine, are very welcome. The two longer works belong to the middle of the thirteenth century, the letters to the early fourteenth, and John and William give an intensely interesting but very dreadful account of a way of life and rule which until recently one hoped had left the world for ever.

The versions, especially of the longer pieces, are excellent and call for little criticism. *Gramatica* (pp. 130, 144) may, I think, fairly be translated "Latin", as a Dorset rustic has been heard, still in the 20th century, to speak of the grammatical name of a flower. On p. 141-2 "These are on the grass-lands to the north, those Uigurs (town-dwellers) among the hills to the south" might be rather better. Readers of what seems to be a version of an actual letter may be surprised to find on p. 230 "In the same letter Brother John himself says . . .", or just below "This letter was written in . . ." for "*littera ipsa data dicebat . . .*", without explanation.

The Bibliography omits the texts of the letters printed in this Journal in 1914, 1921, and by Golubovich in 1919 on the Continent. The footnotes, adequate in extent and form, are not always correct. Guyuk (p. 68), born in 1206 according to the Chinese Histories, might have been in his 42nd year in 1247; why must he have been "considerably younger than this"? The note on p. 144 completely ignores Van den Wyngaert's learned note on Segin, which shows that Ta-t'ung was the Hsi-ching or Western Capital under the Tartar dynasties (Liao and Chin); while Peking has never, I think, been so named.

A. C. MOULE.

MARCO POLO: LA DESCRIPTION DU MONDE. Texte intégral en français moderne avec introduction et notes par LOUIS HAMBIS. pp. xviii + 433. Map and illustrations. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1955. Fr. 2400.

This is perhaps the most serious edition of Marco Polo to appear in France since Pauthier's in 1865, though it makes no claim to

learning or novelty. It is a pleasant volume to handle, with a fairly good index and few misprints. A closer examination reveals signs of haste, and little new light is thrown on any of the stock problems of the text. The introduction gives briefly the background, crusades and Mongol inroads of Marco Polo's age; and then a summary of the two great journeys of Nicolò and Maffeo Polo to China and back (1252-1295); and finally a sufficiently full and correct account of the manuscript copies of Polo's book. The great fault is the absence throughout of references to authorities. What is the evidence that Nicolò and Maffeo went to Rome in 1269 (p. vi); or that Marco was captured at Curzola in 1298; or was in prison for three years (p. xii)? Benedetto has cast doubt on the Curzola story, and Yule showed long ago that Marco was probably set free in 1299.

There is not a word in the Introduction to show the source of this new *texte intégral*; but it is, I think, possible that MM. Hambis and Max Campserveux have practically translated my English version of 1938 with many small and usually unimportant omissions, and the result is a very readable text in modern French of a style not *trop modernisé* which does credit to all concerned. There are only a few slips in the translation. The notes (pp. 339-419) are based on Yule and on Pelliot's lectures. In some places they seem to go well beyond Yule, but are not very successful in Cathay. To take a minor example: *Ts'in-ning* (p. 397) should be *Tsi-ning*, and is hardly *au pied* of T'ai-chan; *King-tsai* (p. 398, *Quinsai*) should be *Hing-tsai*, and, though the Court was at Lin-ngan nearly three years (1132-1134), it was not fixed there as temporary residence until 1138 (not 1132).

But as a translation the book deserves to prove very popular.

A. C. MOULE.

---

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REBELLION OF AN LU-SHAN. By EDWIN J. PULLEYBLANK. pp. viii + 264. Oxford University Press. £1 12s. 6d.

Dilettante sketches of Chinese history from Peking Man to Mao Tse-tung abound. But there have in the West been few attempts to apply the normal methods of the scholarly historian to any short period or selected figure. This book therefore marks a great step forward in Western historical research about China. It is painstaking,

critical, level-headed, and very well written. Professor Pulleyblank's first care has necessarily been to unravel and evaluate the sources. The standard Chinese histories are founded on sources of the most unequal kind, ranging from accurate and reliable official records to baseless anecdotes originally told to entertain rather than to inform. The author has been at great pains to disentangle the true from the merely picturesque. He has chapters on the economic, political, and military backgrounds, and a number of important appendices. With Appendix II (Changes in the Distribution of Population . . .) I find it hard to agree. The author seems to assume throughout that the census figures given in Chinese histories bear a close relation to fact and that if, for example, the average size of a household works out at nearly seven persons in one part of China and at less than three in another, this is due to actual social differences. I, on the other hand, would be prepared to maintain that the figures have as little to do with reality as the income-tax returns of certain professions in certain European countries. Li Hsin-ch'uan (1166-1243 A.D.) in his *Ch'ao Yeh Tsa Chi* points out that the average size of a household in the census returns of the 11th and 12th centuries works out at only just over two persons to each household, which he says can bear no relation to real facts. He attributes the absurdly low figure to false information given by householders anxious to avoid paying the full poll-tax. In his own day, he says, it would appear from the figures that the average household in Chekiang consisted of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  persons, whereas those for Szechwan worked out at almost twice that number. This he attributes to the fact that in Szechwan there was no poll-tax, whereas in Chekiang there was one; "therefore fewer names are omitted in Szechwan." I find it hard to believe that similar factors were not at work in T'ang times. Surely, too, desire to escape military service must have operated in the same way; and it is possible that the prospect of a forthcoming redistribution of land per head sometimes led to the invention of fictitious members of the household. Where population appears to leap up, this may merely mean that the taxation-officials at the Capital were insisting on less improbable returns. Such figures may throw light on the history of Chinese administration, but cannot be safely used to show population-shifts or changes in the political importance of this or that area. Again, did some censuses include women, and others not? We know that a census of A.D. 963 did not include women. Perhaps all the Sui and T'ang

censuses did include women, but this point ought perhaps to have been discussed.

I am not an economist or a statistician, and I daresay Professor Pulleyblank would have no difficulty in rebutting my objections. But I feel that the point I have raised ought to have been considered.

ARTHUR WALEY.

- 
- I. BIOGRAPHY OF SU CH'Ō. By CHAUNCEY S. GOODRICH. pp. 116.  
 II. Account of the T'ü-yü-hün in the history of the Chin dynasty. By Thomas D. Carroll, S.J. pp. 47.

Nos. 3 and 4, Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, Institute of East Asiatic Studies, University of California, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953.

The "Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations" aim at "making available to western readers significant portions of the voluminous records which the Chinese have kept of their history". Scholars at Berkeley translate and annotate a chapter or portion of a chapter that interests them from one of the dynastic histories of the "early middle periods of Chinese history from the beginning of the Three Kingdoms to the end of the Five Dynasties (A.D. 220-960)". This modest project gives scholars of differing interests an opportunity of publishing something on their own specialty and at the same time contributing to a whole. The value of the items in the series will depend on the choice of subjects and on the scholarly penetration of the translators in annotation and placing their subjects in the proper historical perspective.

Su Ch'ŏ was the adviser of Yü-wen T'ai, the founder of Western Wei—Northern Chou (535-579), the state in north-west China which prepared the way for the reunification of China after the long centuries of separation into Northern and Southern Dynasties. Both the succeeding empires of a united China, the Sui and the T'ang, were founded by great Northern Chou families and derived their initial strength from the tough, practical, puritanical fusion of Chinese and nomad cultures that had been brought about by Yü-wen T'ai and his ministers. Clearly the biography of the fore-



most of these is a topic of the greatest possible historical interest well deserving of treatment in this series.

In his introduction and notes Mr. C. S. Goodrich displays scholarship and awareness of the importance of his subject. If the result may seem a little meagre, it is not his fault but that of the form of Chinese official biography. About Su Ch'ò there is little more than a dry record of his official career and one or two anecdotes. The bulk of the text consists of the quotation in full of two documents on the principles of government composed by him. In spite of wordiness and conventional moralization, these documents can be made to reveal a good deal about Su Ch'ò's principles and Mr. Goodrich attempts just that. Yet the result cannot add up to a satisfying picture of the man, his period, or his work and one hopes that the author will regard this admirable little book as a first step in the larger study that is so much needed.

Mr. Goodrich's translation is good though not free of mistakes. It suffers from being so literal as to be sometimes unintelligible or even to convey a meaning contrary to the original.

Father Carroll's contribution to the series is less successful. The T'u-yü-hun played an important, all too obscure role on the north-west frontier of China from about the fourth century A.D. onward and a study of their history is much to be desired. But the account in the *Chin-shu* contains only a fraction of the available material. If a single source had to be chosen, it would perhaps have been preferable to take the much longer account of the *Pei-shih*. Anyhow a vast scholarship is required to interpret the history of the T'u-yü-hun, and Father Carroll's scholarship though considerable, has not been adequate. Failure to utilize Japanese works is commonly regarded as a venial fault but Father Carroll has not even made full use of western scholarship. For instance his suggestion that the name T'u-yü-hun is connected with Tibetan Drug-gu, Dru-gu was first made by J. A. Waddell in *JRAS* 1909, p. 973 and again by T. Fujita in *Shigaku Zasshi* 36 (1911) pp. 802-12. It was rejected by Pelliot in *JA* ser. X vol. 20 (1912), pp. 520-23 (an article cited in Father Carroll's bibliography). It was also discussed and rejected by Matsuda in *Shigaku Zasshi* 48 (1937), p. 1,388 and again at length by Yamamoto in *Tōyō Gakuhō* 26 (1938), pp. 1-43 and Toda in *Tōyō Gakuhō* 27 (1939), 63-104. It seems a pity that a theory so thoroughly dead should now be resurrected. There is no evidence for saying that Tibetan Dru-gu, Khotanese

Ttūrki, Ttrūki were employed before the rise of the Turks (T'u-chüeh) in the middle of the sixth century.

The remarks made above about Mr. Goodrich's translation apply equally, or perhaps even more, to Father Carroll's.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

### South-East Asia

RAFFLES OF THE EASTERN ISLES. By C. E. WURTZBURG. Edited for publication by CLIFFORD WITTING. 788 pages. Hodder and Stoughton, September, 1954. £2 2s.

Charles Wurtzburg was connected with shipping in the Far East for more than 30 years. In 1920, during a sojourn in Singapore, his attention was attracted by the personality and attainments of Sir Stamford Raffles, and he found himself embarked on an interest that was to engross him for the rest of his life. Until his death in 1952 he collected material on Raffles, intending to devote the time of his retirement to embodying it in a definitive biography. But there was always just a little more to discover, a little more to read, and he called a halt to research and began to write the book only a short time before he died. It was thus left to friends and associates to see that the results of his devoted labour should be organized and put into print.

Fortunately this has been admirably done through the agency of the Glen Line Limited. The volume is beautifully produced, with an excellent index and illustrations. Most parts of Raffles' life that were only sketchily known or remained puzzling have been explained by Mr. Wurtzburg, and the period of colonial history in which he acted becomes clearly lit. The book is valuable not only as a portrait of a great man insufficiently appreciated by his country: it will be a useful reference for any historian interested in Indonesian background. The 15-page bibliography includes what must surely be every published and unpublished work extant that impinges on Mr. Wurtzburg's subject. A good deal of the new material, he once said, came from the unpublished Diary of Captain Travers, who met Raffles early in his career and remained his friend. Such small part of the Diary that has already been printed was censored by Raffles's second wife Sophia, after her customary fashion, and all reference to the first wife Olivia was removed.

It is in regard to this same Olivia that Mr. Wurtzburg's most interesting work has been done. Her story has always been rather mysterious. When Raffles was first promoted from his insignificant job of clerk in the East India Company, and went out to Penang as assistant Secretary to the Governor in 1805, he brought with him a dark-eyed bride who had been a Mrs. Fancourt. The story spread through the Company that she was a former mistress of Ramsay, the Secretary, and that Raffles had been promoted as reward, or bribe, for marrying the lady and taking her off Ramsay's hands. Raffles himself became aware of this ugly rumour and tried to scotch it. There were other ill-natured stories in Penang, possibly about Olivia's behaviour in her pre-Raffles days. Penang of course was a small community, much given to backbiting.

Searching for some reason for the ill-will obviously borne against Olivia by certain persons, though she was evidently beloved by her immediate circle of friends, Mr. Wurtzburg discovered some interesting facts that suggest a new theory. "The vague and scattered evidence does suggest that Olivia was born in India, probably Madras; that her father was George Devenish, younger brother of William Devenish of Rush Hill, Co. Roscommon, and that her mother was a Circassian; that the family in Ireland declined to recognize the wife; and that Olivia was ashamed of her parentage."

EMILY HAHN.

---

TWEE MALEISE GESCHRIFTEN VAN NÛRUDDÎN AR-RÂNÎRÎ. Ed. by P. VOORHOERE. pp. 43 + 1-27 + 1-128. Uitgaven van de Stichting de Goeje No. 16. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1955.

Already Dutch scholars have given us the works of two heterodox Sumatran mystics, Dr. Doorenbos those of Hamzah of Barus, Dr. C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze those of Samsu'l-din of Pasai, and now Dr. P. Voorhoeve gives us in facsimile two works by the orthodox Nûruddin ar-Rânîrî, the *Tibyân fi ma'rifat al-adyan* from Leiden Codex Or. 3291 and the (till lately untraced) *Hujjat aš-siddîk li-daf' az-zindîk* from Maxwell MS. 93 in the library of this society.

The sources of the former, which deals with religion from Ādam to 'Īsā and with Islamic sects, are the *at-Tamhîd fî bayan at-tauhîd*

by Abū Shakūr as-Sālimī, written in Persia in the fifth century, the *Insān al-Kāmil* of *al-Jīlī* and a work known in Arabic and Persian as the *Ma'rifat* (or *Tadhkirat*) *al-madhāhib*.

The second work, the *Hujjat*, was also written to refute heretics, dealing with the doctrines of the dialectical theologians (*mutakal-limīn*), the Sufis, the philosophers and the heterodox Wujūdīyah on whether God's Being and the world are one or different. Nūrūd-dīn cites among his sources the *Futuhāt Makhīyah* of ibn Arabī, the *Irā'at ad-daqa'ik sharh Mir'āt al-ḥaqā'ik* of 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Mahā'imi and the *Tuhfa al-mursala ila'n-nabī* by Shaikh Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh.

Dr. Voorhoeve's introduction outlines the life of the author, a Gujerati from Ranir near Surat, whose uncle had lived in Aceh as a teacher of orthodox mysticism. Nūruddīn had acquired Malay and written two works before in 1637 he too migrated to Aceh to acquire Malayan fame.

Dr. Voorhoeve not only gives full outlines of the two works but discusses the MSS. and supplies a textual commentary, displaying the scholarly thoroughness for which Leiden's Orientalists have been noted.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

### India

ANCIENT INDIA. By R. C. MAJUMDAR. pp. xx + 574, 24 plates.  
Banaras : Motilal Banarsidass, 1952. Rs. 20.

In 1927 Professor Majumdar published a brief *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation*, which, though well fulfilling its purpose as an introduction to the history and culture of ancient India, has long been out of print. The present volume is a much enlarged version of the former work, brought up to date by the incorporation of the findings of recent research, and in places adapted to the nationalism of contemporary India. It covers all aspects of Indian history and culture from the earliest times to the invasion of Muhammad of Ghor, though the emphasis is on political history. The general reader may regret that the author has devoted considerable space to numerous minor medieval dynasties, which might well have been passed over in a few words in favour of a more detailed consideration of the cultural history of ancient India ; but

no doubt the sections in question are of much value to the Indian college student for whom the book is chiefly intended.

In general Professor Majumdar shows no inclination to glorify his country's past at the expense of his scholarship, and indeed in some respects tends to the opposite extreme, and is not afraid to offend his less critical compatriots by sentences such as these—"The iniquitous barrier which the Hindus had raised between man and man, and man and woman, sapped the strength and vitality of national as well as domestic life. No wonder they fell an easy prey to the followers of a religion which not only preached but practised the universal brotherhood of its adherents" (p. 508). With this conclusion we would strongly disagree; the caste system may have outlived its usefulness, and the traditional Hindu matrimonial system may to-day seem monstrously unfair to the feminist, but these two institutions, for all their faults, were largely instrumental in preserving Hindu culture, which, on the basis of caste and family, has survived 750 years of domination by ruling classes of alien faiths. We would ascribe the success of the Muslims in India rather to the traditional Hindu system of statecraft, which glorified aggression but reprobated annexation, and was an effective check on the rise of stable empires, and even on lasting and honourable alliances between neighbouring Hindu powers. This Professor Majumdar recognizes elsewhere (p. 333).

The passage we have quoted is an example of the author's persistent tendency to interpret the past in terms of the present, and to judge an ancient culture by contemporary values. In a work of this kind a certain amount of such interpretation is inevitable, but perhaps Professor Majumdar is sometimes a little too exuberant in this respect, for instance when he refers to a *dānastuti* of the *Rg Veda* as "a remarkable hymn which the advocates of communism may cite as the earliest enunciation of their doctrine based on ethical principles" (p. 54), or when he praises the "ultra-democratic spirit" of the Licchavi tribe in the time of the Buddha (p. 165).

The work is reasonably well produced; it contains a good bibliography and index, but no maps.

A. L. BASHAM.



KINSHIP ORGANIZATION IN INDIA. By IRAWATI KARVE, M.A., Ph.D.,  
Deccan College Monograph Series 11, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1953. pp. viii + 304.  
Price Rs. 15/-.

Dr. Karve's book on the kinship systems of India is the outcome of extensive field research among present-day populations supplemented by literary studies of kinship relations in ancient times. The author is well known for a number of minor publications in the field of kinship studies, but the necessity of integrating her data from many diverse regions of India for a course of lectures on Indian anthropology, delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies (1951-52), happily resulted in the publication of this first comprehensive synthesis of Indian kinship systems. To the student of Indian societies groping his way through the tangle of regional cultures and sub-cultures it gives a most valuable lead, and the recognition of the bold outlines of an overall pattern greatly facilitates the diagnosis of individual regional deviations and separate developments.

The book begins with an account of the kinship behaviour in epic times, and Dr. Karve proves convincingly that Sanskrit literature contains a great deal of material relevant to anthropological studies. The kinship system which emerges from her interpretation of the situations and events depicted in the Mahabharata is basically the same as that still prevalent in the greater part of Northern India, and a comparison between ancient and modern data illuminates both from new angles.

The main theme of Dr. Karve's argument, however, is the dichotomy between the northern kinship systems based on marriage conforming to *sapinda*-rules and those of the south which result from the preference for cross-cousin marriage. In the central zone, within which Dr. Karve includes Rajputana, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Orissa, the overlapping, dove-tailing, and mingling of the two systems has produced a pattern of great variety, and it is here that the author's careful analysis and particularly her unrivalled knowledge of Maratha customs reveals many significant distinctions in the marriage-systems and kinship behaviour of individual castes.

Compared with the sections on Hindu populations, the account of the tribal kinship systems contained in Chapter VII is slight, and one realizes at once that here the author has relied not so much on her own observations but on ethnographic sources too scanty and

uneven to support an argument on a level equal to that reached in the preceding chapters. But this is a small flaw in a book which must count among the most valuable contributions to Indian anthropology of recent years. For here are imagination, an intimate inside knowledge of the material, and the ability and courage to put forward broad generalizations in the face of a confusing variety of detail.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.

---

CATALOGUE OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS IN THE BAYANA HOARD.

By PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR. pp. 363, plates 48. Bombay, 1954 (Numismatic Society of India). Rs. 60.

We must congratulate the Indian Numismatic Society and Professor A. S. Altekar on being able to produce so full and handsome a description of the great hoard of gold Gupta coins discovered at Bayana in Bharatpur State in 1946. 1,821 coins of the Imperial Gupta dynasty were recovered and are described in this volume—it is estimated that a further 285 coins were found but not secured by the authorities. The find has increased our knowledge of the period enormously: known types are present in large numbers, producing new slight varieties; hitherto very rare specimens are represented in fair numbers and there are a number of entirely new types which still further emphasize the originality of the Gupta mint officials and the historical interest of their products. Among the new types are a unique piece of Candragupta II showing Viṣṇu and the king on the obverse, which seems to have no legend, and Lakṣmī on the reverse with the legend *Cakravikrama*, *chattra*, elephant-rider and lion and rhinoceros-slayer types of Kumāragupta I and a unique *Chattra* type of Skandagupta, the only coin of this monarch and the only one of his issues in the hoard which must have been buried early in his reign. From the coins found, Professor Altekar has been able to complete a number of legends hitherto not fully read. For several types this is not yet possible in spite of the number of specimens available. It is particularly exasperating to find that with eight new specimens of the hitherto unique "Two Queens" or *Pratāpa* type of Kumaragupta II—the reverse now correctly read as *Apratigha*—the long obverse legend still remains a puzzle. The obverse type is an equal puzzle. It shows two Amazonian ladies (the one on the left might be a male holding the

shield) arguing vigorously before a meek ascetic-looking little figure, who is however distinctly labelled *Kumārāguptaḥ*. *Apratigha* is translated "Invincible" by Professor Altekar. Could it not mean "free from passion" which would support Dr. Altekar's belief that the type may have a religious significance?

A supplementary plate illustrates later Gupta coins which were not in the hoard and there are valuable tables of legends in facsimile and plates of drawings of dress and weapons. The historical introduction is an excellent summary to date of our knowledge of the period. Too much stress is laid on the late story of Rāmāgupta; he is not mentioned in Bāna's version of the story and the copper coins on which the name *Rāmāgupta* has been read are certainly not Gupta coins but possibly Mālavān. There is no reason to doubt that the coins and genealogies record all the early Gupta emperors.

Professor Altekar has made a notable contribution not only to Indian numismatics, for which he has already done so much, but also to the history and art of the Gupta period. We are grateful to H.H. the Maharaja of Bharatpur for the active interest he took in the safeguarding and publication of the hoard, accidentally discovered by children looking for empty cartridges after a shooting expedition by His Highness.

J. ALLAN.

2 THE WONDER THAT WAS INDIA. A survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the coming of the Muslims. By A. L. BASHAM. pp. 568. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1954. 45s.

This handsome volume is designed to provide the general reader with a comprehensive picture of ancient Indian civilization. It will also be of the utmost value to the student of Indology. Since no work of the kind was available, it will supply a definite need. Dr. Basham's mastery of the material over so vast a field is impressive, and though reviewers may disagree from time to time with points of view the general picture presented can be considered well-balanced and reliable in every way. Although so great a field has been covered in such limited space the result remains eminently readable, and it is only occasionally that the fact of compression is obtrusive. The field covered is made even wider by including not only the Indo-Aryan tradition, but what is much to be commended, the Dravidian

tradition as well, particularly that recorded in ancient Tamil literature.

The work begins with an account of the prehistoric period to the Muslim invasions, which, though necessarily brief, provides the essential framework for what follows. Next Hindu political theory and practice are examined with reference to the sources both literary and epigraphical. Chapters dealing with Society and Class, and Everyday Life, are likewise adequately documented. One chapter on Religion and Philosophy deals with a subject that has been more amply treated than any other aspect of ancient Indian civilization, and in this section the effort of summarizing is more obvious than elsewhere. Dealing with Art, Dr. Basham begins by considering the paradox presented by the contradiction between its intense vitality and concentration on the many-sided activities and delight of earthly life, and the contempt of earthly existence and concentration on release from it which is the avowed object of all the religions in whose service art was employed. This, he considers, is not to be explained away by any allegorical interpretation, but to be accepted for what it is, illustrating a permanent duality of temperament and attitude characteristic of ancient Indian civilization.

The chapter on literature contains well-chosen selections excellently translated, and besides standard works widely known the author has provided interesting extracts from a number of texts lying off the beaten track. A number of appendices give useful information on a variety of special subjects which could not be treated in the body of the work. It is illustrated by eighty-nine plates chosen with great discrimination and admirably produced.

T. BURROW.

---

ASPECTS OF EARLY VIṢṆUISM. By J. GONDA. lx + 270 pages.  
Utrecht: Pub. N.V.A. Oosther's Uitgevers Mij, 1954.

Professor Gonda's monograph is written on the two planes of Sanskrit (and in particular Vedic) philology, and of comparative anthropology and religion. This makes it a difficult study, few readers being competent to form valid appreciations in both fields. Dr. Gonda's treatment is discursive and tentative, but throws emphasis on the fertility factor in Viṣṇu, his function as Protector (which predominates in the identification with Kṛiṣṇa), and the companionship motif, with Viṣṇu's evolution from secondary relations with Indra in the Vedas to his later ascendancy. The

traditional association with the sun is related to the pervasive and fertilizing energy of solar light rather than to the visual orb; and iconological attributes, Avatārs and puranic legend are all made to bear on the fertility function. The work is characterized by long technical digressions of anthropological and linguistic character, and on the latter side by a few extreme etymological conjectures, tempered by the author's warning against "taking possibilities as hypotheses". In discussion of the Avatārs the Boar takes the hunt from Scandinavia by way of the Thesmophoria at Athens and the Isis cult in Egypt to Borneo and the Sandwich Islands, to fall a victim at last to the crop fertility rites of the Sema Nagas in Assam. The long philological excursus on the word *śrī* (with *śrēyān*, *śresthas*, etc.), somewhat remote from the theme of Viṣṇuism, may oversubtilize sometimes between the precise variation of meaning in each passage cited ("prosperity", "brightness", "pre-eminence", etc.), and indulges in one of the more hazardous conjectures in interpreting the name "Śrīkaṇṭha" as equivalent to "Nandimukha" in the sense of the "prosperity look". Nevertheless for the Sanskritist the value of the work lies precisely in these intensive studies of individual linguistic problems rather than in the exposition of any particular new theory and also incidentally in the bibliographical wealth of the footnotes. On the anthropological side the general reader will notice Professor Gonda's rejection of a school of interpretation of the theriomorphic aspects of Viṣṇuism that has had its day in the past. The deity, be it said with reverence, has lost all his totem poles! British Orientalists will be grateful to Professor Gonda for his choice of English as the medium for this scholarly work.

WALTER GURNER.

*Sm.* THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA, c. 455-1000 A.D. By B. P. SINHA. pp. 482, plates 6. Patna, 1954. 20 rupees.

This book is a notable contribution to the history of medieval India. It traces, through the rise and fall of the various dynasties that ruled it, the decline of Magadha as the focus of Indian history from the break up of the Gupta empire to the Muslim conquest which transferred the centre of power to Delhi. Dr. Sinha leads us carefully through the complicated history of the later Imperial Guptas, the Maukharis, the Later Guptas, to the revival and final collapse of Magadha as a part of the Pāla empire. He handles the



varied epigraphic, literary, and numismatic sources and the vast and scattered modern literature on the subject with ease, independence of thought, and critical ability. He has taken nothing for granted and every page bears traces of original scholarship and sound judgment. Among the features of the book is the detailed study of the successors in the imperial line of Kumāragupta II on whom the author throws much new light from an examination of the numismatic material; equally important are the examination of the chronology of the Later Guptas and the full discussion of the material for the history of the Gauḍa empire and of Harṣavardhana's conquest of Bihar. We welcome the full treatment of the rise and fall of the Later Guptas, while the concluding chapters on the Pāla period make clear the forces which were working to bring to an end the great tradition which Magadha had upheld for at least fifteen centuries.

The book has an excellent index; the text and plates have been well printed in Patna. There is a useful epigraphic table and the appendices include genealogical tables and detailed discussions of several numismatic points. Magadha produced many great men but Pāṇini (p. 422) can hardly be claimed as a native, in spite of the tradition associating him with the Nandas.

J. ALLAN.

SELECTIONS FROM DISTRICT RECORDS : MIDNAPORE SALT PAPERS ; HIJLI AND TAMLUK (1781-1807). Edited by NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA. Assistant editors, TARIT KUMAR MUKHERJEE and ARUN KUMAR DASGUPTA. pp. xii + 24 + 228 + 3 maps. Calcutta : West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee, 1954. Rs. 7 As. 8.

In 1780 the Bengal Government appointed agents to control the manufacture and sale of salt. This volume contains a selection from the official papers of the Salt Agents for Hijli and Tamluk, now in the Midnapore District Record Office. Hijli and Tamluk were important areas of salt manufacture : together they were responsible for more than half the total amount of salt produced in Bengal. The Agents soon had to tackle serious problems—in the manufacture of salt, for example, the substitution of free labour (*thika*) for forced labour (*ajura*) ; in trade, the smuggling of salt from the near-by Maratha territories. The documents in this volume provide valuable information concerning these and other topics.

There are, however, a few documents the significance of which seems slight indeed—for example, a letter which merely announces the appointment of a certain person as a Salt Agent. Instead, the reader might welcome more evidence concerning the policies which the Government expected the Salt Agents to carry out. It is in fact difficult to say what criteria of selection were employed. Moreover, the arrangement of the documents hardly makes for clarity. Nevertheless, the book contains a wealth of new material, and its value is enhanced by a luminous introduction written by Dr. N. K. Sinha himself. We must hope that it is only the beginning of a new series of selections from District Records.

K. A. BALLHATCHET.

---

BOMBAY RECORDS SERIES. Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Department, 1755–1820. Compiled by V. G. DIGHE. pp. viii + xl + 652. 10 × 7½. Bombay: Government Central Press. Rs. 5 Annas 9, or 9s. 3d.

In his introduction Mr. P. M. Joshi, the Director of the Bombay Records, tells us that the Bombay Record Office holds over 98,000 volumes and 300,000 files of Bombay Records. These have a peculiar interest, as they begin with the Outward Letter Book of the Surat Factory in 1630, the oldest British document surviving in India, that factory being the first British establishment in the country. Though there are many gaps in the early years, the Surat Diaries alone, from 1660–1809, number 218 volumes. The Presidency of Bombay was formally established in 1715. During the next century the work increased so greatly that it had to be divided into departments, the first of which was the Secret and Political Department, founded in 1755. The printing, or even the calendaring, of these records would be an enormous task, taking many years to accomplish. The course has therefore been wisely adopted of preparing a descriptive list or catalogue, and a beginning has rightly been made with the oldest and most interesting of the departments, the Secret and Political, from its foundation till 1820. The period was one of great interest in which the Government of Bombay had to face a series of emergencies, with very limited resources. Its record was on the whole very creditable and free from scandal. For many years the small Bombay Army was almost without cessation engaged in warfare, and this catalogue supplies references to many of its campaigns which are insufficiently known.

The same may be said of the Bombay Marine which waged unceasing warfare against the pirates of the Indian and Arabian coasts, the story of which has never been fully dealt with. The catalogue seems to have most carefully prepared by the historical Archivist, Mr. Dighe. It should be of great use to all who study or write about the period it covers.

PATRICK CADELL.

---

### Islam

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEANING OF SPIRIT IN THE KORAN. By THOMAS O'SHAUGHNESSY, S.J. (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 139.) 75 pp. Rome : Pontifical Institute, 1953. 2 dollars.

This is a much more significant work than its small bulk appears to suggest. Father O'Shaughnessy has gathered together all the strands of Koranic studies during the last two generations and concentrated them on one small but theologically important topic. The skill with which he has organized his investigation, dissected the successive stages in the conception of *rūḥ* in the Koran, and (without pretending to solve all the problems) related them to the existing currents of religious thought in Western Asia is noteworthy. But perhaps the most remarkable result of his study—though unremarked by himself—is the touchstone which it applies to the variety of hypotheses which have been expressed on the subject of the “sources” of the Koran, showing up with deadly clarity those which stand up to such an analysis and those which rest on no solid foundation. It also strikingly brings out the vague “gnosticism” of popular religious concepts in Arabia, out of which the Koranic Revelation began ascent to its later heights.

H. A. R. GIBB.

---

THE ŠŪFĪ PATH OF LOVE. Compiled by MARGARET SMITH. pp. 154. Luzac, 1954. 21s

The Sufi faith is that man is kept apart from God by the illusion of self and only by love can self be overcome. The way to God is in stages, the renunciation of all but God, the following His light and grace in the heart, and the attainment through love of a life lived in and through God. This book begins with sixteen descriptions of

Sufism, all but one by Europeans, and then follow chapters consisting of extracts from oriental authors on the nature of the Godhead, the different stages of the path to Him and, finally, reunion with Him, the creative truth. An anthology like this raises questions of method. Is it necessary to reproduce the misprints in the extracts? Should outmoded transliterations be kept or one system imposed throughout? (The proof-reading has been careless.) Many of the extracts are beautiful but the combined effect is cloying and one suspects that it would have been better for the authors if they had paid less attention to writing and more to living. Some passages would be the better for a few explanatory notes.

A. S. TRITTON.

---

SA'UDI ARABIA. By H. St. JOHN PHILBY. xix + 355 pp. Map.  
London: Benn, 1955. 30s.

This new and entirely rewritten history of Sa'udi Arabia differs in many respects from Mr. Philby's history of Arabia published in the same series in 1930. The attempt to trace, even in summary form, the fortunes of all the diverse regions of Arabia since the eighteenth century has been abandoned, and the story is concentrated upon the history of the Wahhabi state. Though the book is about half as long again as its predecessor, the difference in length is not accounted for by the events of the intervening twenty-five years (which are briefly and grimly compressed into forty pages), but by a long introductory chapter tracing the rise of the house of Sa'ud and a fuller narrative of its vicissitudes in the nineteenth century. It seems curious that the references to the early religious controversies relating to Wahhabism should have dropped out also, and that nowhere indeed are its doctrinal positions set out in detail. So far as the narrative is concerned, it uniformly presents events from the Sa'udi angle, and its usefulness to students of Arabian history occasionally suffers accordingly, particularly in regard to the Persian Gulf area and to the relations between Arabia and the Ottoman empire. With all this, however, the book which Mr. Philby has given us is to be welcomed as the most definitive history of the Wahhabi movement which is likely to be written for many years.

H. A. R. GIBB.

### Art and Archæology

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PAINTING IN ISLAM. By K. A. C. CRESWELL.  
(Art Islamique, T. 1). pp. 100. Cairo : Imprimerie de l'Institut  
Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953.

The enormous growth of the literature on Islamic painting during the past generation cannot be better gauged than by comparing Professor Creswell's "Provisional Bibliography of Painting in Muhammadan Art", which appeared in 1922, with the present volume. The former contained just over two hundred items, whereas the new work lists more than a thousand. All students will be grateful for the compiler's scholarly research, patient checking, and sound judgment.

Professor Creswell has followed the arrangement of the "Provisional Bibliography" in dividing the items into several sections. This certainly makes this invaluable bibliography more manageable, and it might even have been possible to subdivide further the "General" section by separating the books and articles that deal with Persian painting exclusively, since the following section is devoted to "Indo-Persian or Mughal only" (it is, perhaps, time that at the term "Indo-Persian"—that blessed refuge of perplexed cataloguers—was allowed to die a natural death).

In a bibliography on this scale, with the material scattered over such a vast number of periodicals and learned publications in every language, a few omissions are inevitable. But these will be found to be of a comparatively trifling nature. Professor Creswell deserves the congratulations of all who are interested in Islamic painting.

B. W. ROBINSON.

A STUDY IN INDO-EUROPEAN INFLUENCES. By JOHN IRWIN.  
Victoria and Albert Museum Monograph No. 9. London : Her  
Majesty's Stationary Office, 1955.

"A lady of Victorian England," writes Mr. Irwin, "who valued her Kashmir shawl for what she supposed to be its authentic Indian quality, would have been shocked to know that the Kashmiri who designed it had in all probability been working with a French pattern-book at his elbow." In this excellent monograph on Kashmir shawls and the rise of the shawl industry in Britain and France Mr. Irwin has not only brought before a general public a concise summary of much detailed and out-of-the-way research, but he has related it to a wider field than that of a side-issue of textile production. The whole problem of the interrelation of the artistic influences of East and West is brought briefly under review, and with perspicacity the author stresses "the fact that borrowings on either side were usually



drawn, not from what was fundamentally indigenous in the other culture, but from precisely those features which were eclectic in the first place." Thus the characteristic Kashmir motive of a flowering plant was derived from Persian floral ornament and was later subjected to "improvement" by agents from Constantinople and France and the East India Company.

The history of shawl-weaving in Britain is marked by three stages: the beginnings at Norwich from the 1780s, the gradual out-stripping of Norwich by Paisley, which had started as an offshoot from Edinburgh, and from 1840 onwards the increasing submission of Paisley to French influence. "In the 1850s and 1860s an extremely complex situation was reached in the international shawl trade. On the one hand, the Kashmir industry was largely under the domination of French merchants who had settled there, bringing with them their own pattern-books for the native designers to copy. At the same time, France was producing imitation *kashmirs* which were often a decade ahead of the Indian-made designs they were supposed to be imitating, and these in turn were copied or adapted by Paisley weavers." The rôle of Paisley throughout seems to have been one of considerable plagiarism and piracy. The market was deflected from Norwich, admittedly, by more advanced methods of manufacture, but these were combined with a policy of sharp practice. In the 1850s the French manufacturers became aware of these methods and one French firm saw to it that its designs were registered at the British Patent Office. When the Paisley manufacturers introduced designs of their own, about the time of the Great Exhibition, the result was "reminiscent of the worst features of early Victorian decorative art".

Qualitative judgments are apt to boomerang; even the original Kashmir shawls can hardly be claimed as one of the best features of Indian decorative art. But Mr. Irwin is aware of the ironical implication. The surprising fact, as he says, is that these shawls and their derivatives should have occupied a proportion of fashion and industry for as long as a hundred years.

J. BECKWITH.

### Grant from the British Academy

The Society is indebted to the British Academy for allotting it a grant of £400 for one year at a time for not more than five years from a fund placed at the Academy's disposal by the Nuffield Foundation. The grant is for the enlargement of the Society's *Journal*.

## OBITUARIES

### Sir Atul Chatterjee

Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. was born on 24th November, 1874, and died at Bexhill on 8th September, 1955. From the Presidency College, Calcutta, he won a scholarship to King's College, Cambridge, and headed the list in the Indian Civil Service in 1896. In 1917 he became Revenue Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces and in 1919 their Chief Secretary. In 1919 he represented India in Washington at the first International Labour Conference, thereafter inspiring many reforms in factory legislation and in 1927 being elected President of the 10th International Labour Conference. In 1925 he was appointed High Commissioner for India in London, when he reorganized the office and persuaded Lord Reading to authorize the erection of India House, Aldwych, from designs by Sir Herbert Baker. On retirement from this post he was appointed a member of the Council of India. In 1942 he returned to England as Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, an appointment he held till 1947. Problems of labour and economics were his chief official concern. But an interest in Indian culture led to his collaborating with a fellow United Provinces official, W. H. Moreland, in writing *A Short History of India*. He also wrote *The New India* (1948).

Sir Atul became a member of the Society in 1915, for 1939-1941 and 1947-1950 was a member of its council and for 1942-1946 and 1951-3 a Vice-President. His charm of manner, great administrative experience, and instinctive impartiality made him a colleague valuable and esteemed.

After the death of his first wife, Nina Mukerjee, Sir Atul married Dr. Gladys Broughton, O.B.E., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, to whom the Society extends its respectful sympathy.

---

### John Hamilton Lindsay

Born in Glasgow on 13th March, 1882, John Hamilton Lindsay was the son of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Martin Lindsay, Principal of the United Free Church College in Glasgow, and the brother of Alexander Dunlop Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford and subsequently Lord Lindsay of Birker.

Educated at Glasgow Academy and the Glasgow University, where he obtained the degree of M.A., with first class honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, he passed the Indian Civil Service after the competitive examination of 1904 and arrived in India on the 4th December, 1905. After a novitiate in district appointments

in Bengal, he became in 1918 Magistrate-Collector of Khulna district and in 1925 Secretary to Government in the Education Department. His early retirement in 1930 was unexpected, as he had developed a distinct flair for educational work, and he was a fine example of the conscientious and idealist administrator.

The appointment of his son, Thomas, to a post in Shanghai, led him to study the Chinese language and culture, and he was the first European to receive the degree of M.A. at London University in Chinese Archaeology in 1938. In 1944 he was appointed to the Universities China Committee in London, and was elected its Chairman in August, 1945. He was an excellent Chairman, and ever zealous in the interests of the Chinese students sent by the then Government of China to Great Britain. No one regretted more than he that political changes in China stopped the flow of competent young Chinese into British Universities and technical institutions.

Lindsay joined the Royal Asiatic Society in 1929, and served as its Hon. Treasurer for six years from 1943, when his talent for finance had full scope in the matter of municipal rates and covenanted subscriptions.

Known to his intimates as "Jim", he had a practical as well as a generous mind. He was always ready to help others. Gardening was perhaps his chief hobby. He died in 1955, leaving in Croydon a widow who had shared his tastes, and a son in Hong Kong. The Society desires to offer to them its respectful sympathy.

JOHN CUMMING.

---

### **The Presentation of the Universities' Essay Prize to Mr. Michael N. Teague**

In presenting the prize Sir Ralph Turner observed that the first four years of life were often held to be of prime importance in determining one's character and interests. Certainly the winning of the Society's prize for an essay on "The Rise and Fall of Portuguese Colonial Activities East of Suez" by Mr. Teague went to corroborate the theory. For not only had he been born in India but his first nurse had been a woman of that Portuguese possession, Goa. The subconscious influences round Mr. Teague's cradle had perhaps been brought to the surface by his recent visit (with an Oxford University expedition) to another Portuguese possession, Angola.

In congratulating the prizewinner (an undergraduate of Worcester College, Oxford), Sir Ralph hoped that his interest in the East begun in infancy, reawakened in early manhood, and encouraged by the winning of the Society's Universities' Essay Prize might continue in future years.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 12th May, 1954, with the President, Sir Ralph Turner, in the chair.

The following Report of Council, 1953-4, was laid before it and passed.

The Society regretted the loss through death of two Honorary Fellows, Professors J. J. L. Duyvendak and Ph. van Ronkel, and of the following members: Professors F. W. Buckler and W. B. Stevenson, Dr. Andreas Nell, and Messrs. R. Grant Brown, C. A. Kincaid, J. H. Lindsay (Hon. Treasurer from 1943 to 1949), W. O. Law, and F. R. Sell.

Four members resigned: Sir Josiah Crosby, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, Rev. B. S. Bonsall, and Mrs. C. R. Boxer.

The following were elected to fill vacancies among the Honorary Fellows: His Excellency Seyyid Hasan Taqizadeh, Dr. J. Deny, and Professors E. Elisseeff and Hellmut Ritter.

Sixty-eight new members were elected:—

His Excellency Dr. Najib-Ullah; Professors Ahmed Ateş, A. Decei, A. B. M. Habibullah, O. Hansen, J. V. Kinnier-Wilson, R. T. Mayer, Ba Nyunt, N. Poppe, E. G. Pulleyblank, H. H. Rowley, A. L. Sadler, and P. J. Zoetmulder; Sahityacharya Dr. G. C. Kausish; Doctors A. A. Bake, J. G. de Casparis, C. J. F. Dowsett, H. J. Lulofs, Margaret Murray, C. R. Naik, O. Pritsak, H. Schöhl, J. B. Segal, B. Subbarao, A. Trabulsi, P. Voorhoeve, and N. E. Vrouyr; Diwan Om Parkash; Messrs. K. R. W. P. Atreya, C. R. Bawden, C. Birch, J. D. Duncanson, T. C. George, A. R. A. Gherson, M. V. Hate, M. A. Haq, R. W. Highwood, K. C. Ho, G. J. Hudson, S. Johnson, M. F. Kanza, K. H. S. S. Kausish, Jean Leclerc, J. R. Loewe, W. McKane, D. N. Mackenzie, H. A. Mahfuz, P. A. Martin, L. K. Malhotra, Jacques May, K. R. Norman, K. Ragupathy, P. Ray, G. Rentz, H. W. F. Saggs, M. Scott, N. S. Sharma, S. M. Sherida, H. L. Shorts, E. H. S. Simmonds, and Y. C. L. Tsao; Mesdames C. Perreur-Lloyd and S. Vedalankar, and the Misses D. Abdel Al, M.-T. Bobot, E. Dimes, J. Morrison, and C. Nolténios.

*Grants.*—The Society gratefully acknowledges the following grants for the financial year ending 31st December, 1954: £300 from the

British Academy ; £200 from the Government of India ; £100 from the Government of Pakistan ; £46 from the Federation of Malaya ; £28 from the Government of Singapore, and £5 from the Government of Hongkong.

*Lectures.*—Miss Caton-Thompson lectured on “An Archæologist in the Hadhramaut”, Prof. W. Perceval Yetts on “The Horse in Chinese Art”, Lady Drower on “Ceremonies in a Mandæan Sanctuary”, Sir Gerard Clauson on “The Turkish Language Group”, Dr. Mary Boyce on “Poets and Poetry in Sassanian Persia”, Dr. Bulling on “Buddhist Architecture of the T’ang Period”, and Mr. A. H. Hill on “Malay Embroidered Sarongs”.

*Gifts.*—Gifts of books were received from the Oriental Congress, from the U.S.S.R. delegates to that Congress, from the estate of Dr. Herbert Chatley, and from Sir Richard Winstedt ; and a bound volume of the original and unpublished letters of Sir Richard Burton and Lady Burton to Bernard Quaritch from 1867–1890 from Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales.

*Universities’ Prize Essay.*—The subjects set were “The extent and importance of contacts between China and the West to A.D. 200” or “The Rise and Fall of Portuguese Colonial Activities East of Suez”, or an oriental subject of the candidate’s own choice. The prize was awarded to Mr. M. N. Teague, of Worcester College, Oxford, for his essay on the second subject.

*Honours.*—The honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred on Lady Drower by the University of Oxford.

*Appointments.*—Mr. Sinor was appointed a delegate to represent the Society at the General Assembly of the International Union of Orientalists and Mr. Master to continue to represent the Society on the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Sir Hamilton Gibb, Professors A. J. Arberry and B. Lewis, and Drs. A. C. Beeston and H. E. Stapleton were appointed to organize the preparation of catalogues of Arab MSS. on science. Professor K. B. Vyas represented the Society at the Anniversary Celebrations of the Bombay Branch.

*Publications.*—During the year the Society published *Oriental Manuscript Collections in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, by J. D. Pearson, M.A., and *Tibetan Texts and Documents Vol. III*, by Prof. F. W. Thomas.

*23rd International Congress of Orientalists.*—Organized by the



Royal Asiatic Society, this was held in Cambridge from the 21st to the 28th August, 1954. The President of the Congress was the President of the Society, Sir Ralph Turner, and the Secretary-General, Mr. Denis Sinor. The Congress was divided into twelve sections, each corresponding to a cultural area of the East. In the sectional meetings a total of approximately 375 individual papers were read. Two themes of more general interest were also debated. One General Meeting discussed the rôle of the Library in Oriental Studies, and another Orientalism and History. Two pamphlets, one entitled "Oriental Manuscript Collections"—written by Mr. Pearson—and another, "Orientalism and History"—edited by Denis Sinor—formed the basis of those discussions.

The growing interest in Oriental studies was shown by the record attendance; 940 delegates from all over the world came to Cambridge.

*Officers and Members of Council.*—The Council recommended election of the following :—

*President.*—Sir Richard Winstedt.

*Director.*—Sir Gerard Clauson.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Professor Sir Ralph Turner and Sir Mortimer Wheeler.

*Honorary Officers.*—Dr. L. D. Barnett (*Librarian*); Mr. D. Sinor (*Secretary*), and Mr. C. C. Brown (*Treasurer*).

*Members of Council.*—Sir Walter Gurner, Professor J. Brough, and Dr. A. D. Waley.

*Auditors.*—Dr. A. L. Basham and Mr. Harold Bowen as Honorary and Sir Nicholas Waterhouse as Professional Auditor.

The Society are again greatly indebted to Messrs. Price Waterhouse for the audit of its accounts, and to Mr. D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., T.D., of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its Honorary Solicitor.

The Hon. Treasurer said that although the Society might appear to have overspent its revenue by £342, that would be a mistaken conclusion. Not only were there rebates due on covenanted subscriptions, which would be paid in 1955, but thanks to the efforts of the Director and the Society's Honorary Solicitor, future years would not see the item "Rates on Offices £770 18s. 10d." Unfortunately from 1st April, 1953, until 31st July, 1954, the Society could not get exemption, as its premises had not then been devoted solely to its own purposes, its tenants having been allowed to use the lecture-

room and part of the library. But of that £770 18s. 10d. it would recover about £200 and for the future the Society's claim for exemption had been allowed. Had the accounts not shown that adverse item of £770, the revenue for the year would have exceeded expenditure by £427 and the credit balance have been £1549 18s. 1½d. against £1221 6s. 8d. in 1954. A satisfactory feature of the accounts was an increase of £100 in subscriptions from new members. The expenditure side was normal and required no comment.

Proposing the adoption of the Report, Sir Gerard Clauson referred to the remarkable increase in the Society's membership during the year. The figure of 68 new members was quite exceptional, and to a large extent reflected the enthusiastic efforts of the Secretary to recruit new members at the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge. The Society had received valuable gifts of books from the late Dr. Chatley and others, but the largest was from the Soviet Delegation to that Congress. These Russian books were technically of high quality, well printed and illustrated, but their most remarkable feature was their low price. Obviously the Soviet authorities had found, or retained, the secret that we had lost of getting their publications printed at a reasonable cost. The continual rise of printing charges in this country was a source of great embarrassment to the Society and kept the size of its Journal small. The high spot of the year was the Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge in August. The Congress was a remarkable success and the Society was greatly indebted to its President, Sir Ralph Turner, whom it had elected President of the Congress, to Mr. Denis Sinor, the Secretary-General, Dr. Gershevitch his Assistant, Prof. H. W. Bailey, the Chairman of the Cambridge Committee, and many other hard workers for this gratifying result. Sir Gerard finished by proposing the election of the new Officers and Members of Council recommended in the Report. It was a great sorrow that Sir Ralph's term of office had expired as President, but in Sir Richard Winstedt they welcomed a President whose services to the Society had already been beyond praise. Indeed as his potential successor as Director Sir Gerard felt that he had been set an impossibly high standard of performance.

In seconding the adoption of the Report Mr. Hay said he was gratified by the opportunity of addressing this learned assembly. The Society had had a very successful year. He congratulated the Honorary Treasurer on his financial statement, and especially he

congratulated the Society on the success of its efforts to get exemption from payment of rates. It was pleasing to see such a long list of new members and he hoped the increase would continue. Indeed he would go a little beyond what Sir Gerard had said and add that it was the duty not only of every Orientalist to join the Society but of everyone who though not daring to describe himself as an Orientalist was interested in Oriental studies and wished to encourage them. They had had an excellent series of lectures. It would perhaps be presumption for him to praise any particular lecturer, but he was grateful to those who—sometimes without the aid of lantern slides—had made apparently abstruse subjects fascinating. Once or twice he had looked at his card and thought “This is about a subject of which I know nothing and a part of the world I hardly knew existed. Will it be worth going up to London?” And he had never been disappointed. He was sorry Sir Richard Winstedt was unable to be there. He was glad to see he was to be Consul again. It was perhaps a good thing the British had not the Roman habit of dating their years by the names of the consuls, or an archæologist of, say—2955 A.D., might chance to light on the Society’s archives—a little fragmentary by then—and plunge into a learned thesis on whether the great Peace Conference to End All Peace Conferences took place in the thirtieth or thirty-third consulship of Sir Richard. The Report was passed unanimously.

The Chairman said that his term of office was nearing its end, if indeed it had not formally reached it with the election of his successor Sir Richard Winstedt, to whom the Society owed so much. For 15 years either as Director or President Sir Richard had conducted their affairs with unremitting attention and conspicuous success. He was sure that he would express the feelings of all members if he thanked Sir Richard in the warmest terms not only for all he had done in the past 15 years, but also for consenting to bear the burden of office for a further period.

The office of President was an honour which it had certainly not struck him he was ever likely to attain, when as a young student he was elected a member of the Society 43 years ago in 1912. It had been his good fortune that his term of office had included the holding of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists in this country on the invitation of the Society. For the Society that was the chief event of the past year and indeed of his three years of office. It was as a delegate of the Society to the 22nd Congress at

Istamboul, that after consulting the Council, he invited the Congress in the name of the Society to hold its next meeting in Great Britain. The Council appointed an Organizing Committee, and under the very capable and energetic management of the Secretary of that Committee, Mr. Denis Sinor, the 23rd Congress proved to be not only the largest and best organized, but also one of the most successful since its inception in 1873. Very many letters received from scholars who attended from Europe, from Asia, from Africa, and from America had borne enthusiastic testimony to this fact. He would like publicly on behalf of the Society, and of Orientalists in general, to express their gratitude to the Organizing Committee and in particular to Mr. Sinor.

A notable feature of this Congress was the presence of a very large contingent of British Orientalists, and the acknowledgment on all sides of the pre-eminent contribution which British scholars are making in the Oriental field. This was a natural consequence of the development of Oriental studies in a number of Universities in this country. In the University of London there was the School of Oriental and African Studies with an academic staff numbering some 160 ; Cambridge had established an Institute to house its enlarged Oriental Faculty ; a similar proposal was before the University of Oxford ; at Durham a young and vigorous School of Oriental Studies had been established ; and there had been some development in both Manchester and Edinburgh.

With this development the Royal Asiatic Society had a more intimate connection than was sometimes realized. The prime impulse came from the Society. Just over a hundred years ago in 1852 Professor H. H. Wilson, then Director of the Society, in a lecture "On the present state of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature" said : "As long as English Society is so incurious with respect to Oriental Literature, it need not be a matter of surprise that the numbers and the labours of English scholars should be overshadowed by the much more imposing array of Continental Orientalists." From 1886 onwards when the Council appointed a Committee "to consider the best means for the promotion of Oriental Studies in England" the addresses and speeches at the Anniversary Meetings of the Society contained frequent references to the proposal to establish in London an Oriental School, and in 1894 the Society formally decided to do all in its power to promote its establishment.

Might he return for a moment to his own 43 years' membership of the Society. His proposer was the late Professor E. J. Rapson, whose pupil he had been at Cambridge, after his old Headmaster, W. H. D. Rouse, had initiated him into the study of Sanskrit just 50 years ago. For the first 10 years of his membership he served in the Indian Education Service or during the First World War abroad with the Indian Army. For the remaining 33 years he had been on the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Because of his intimate connection with that institution, it had been a matter of great personal gratification that it was during the Presidency of Lord Reay he was elected a member of the Society. Lord Reay was President of the Society from 1893 to 1920, and as President was a protagonist in the movement for the creation of an Oriental School in London. It was he who in 1906 with the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, Sir Edward Busk, headed a deputation to the Prime Minister. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman received the deputation favourably and in 1907 the Treasury appointed a Committee to consider the organization of Oriental Studies in London, with Lord Reay as its Chairman. It was the Report of the Reay Committee which led to the foundation, under Royal Charter, of the School of Oriental Studies as an integral part of the University of London. Its first Director was his predecessor, the late Sir Denison Ross, who played a leading part in the Royal Asiatic Society's affairs and was a holder of its Triennial Gold Medal.

That was not the end of the Society's immediate connection with the development of Oriental studies at the Universities. The President of the Society in 1937 and 1938 was Lord Hailey, who was also Chairman of the Governing Body of the School, and it was in those years that the School began to formulate and press upon the Government its plans for further development. Lord Hailey and the late Sir Philip Hartog, who had been Secretary to the Reay Committee, were prime movers in inducing the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden, to appoint a Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Scarbrough, who himself became President of the Society from 1946 to 1948. It was the recommendations of the Scarbrough Commission which led to the great extension of the provision for Oriental studies not only in London but also in other Universities.

It had been a long journey from Professor H. H. Wilson's lecture "On the present state of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature"



# THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<b>SUBSCRIPTIONS—</b>						
Fellows . . . . .	441	0	0			
Non-Resident Members . . . . .	375	12	0			
Students and Miscellaneous . . . . .	26	15	3			
Compounders . . . . .	75	18	0	919	5	3
<b>GRANTS—</b>						
British Academy . . . . .	300	0	0			
Government of India (1953) . . . . .	200	0	0			
„ „ Pakistan (1953 and 1954) . . . . .	100	0	0			
„ „ Malaya . . . . .	46	0	0			
„ „ Singapore . . . . .	28	0	0			
„ „ Hong Kong . . . . .	5	0	0	679	0	0
RENTS RECEIVED . . . . .				972	14	0
<b>JOURNAL ACCOUNT—</b>						
Subscriptions . . . . .	555	15	5			
Sales of copies and offprints . . . . .	744	12	4	1,300	7	9
INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS . . . . .				466	18	10
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT . . . . .				7	5	10
ROYALTIES . . . . .				42	14	7
SALE OF CATALOGUE . . . . .				30	4	9
SALE OF "OR. MSS. COLLECTIONS" by J. D. Pearson . . . . .				17	4	2
SALE OF CENTENARY VOLUME . . . . .				7	6	
SUNDRY RECEIPTS . . . . .				12	13	11
BALANCE ON 31.12.1953 . . . . .				1,221	6	8
				<u>£5 670</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>

## GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£777 1s. 1d. 4% Funding Loan 1960-90.  
 £2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69.  
 £4,453 17s. 4d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.  
 £5,000 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.  
 £1,162 17s. 5d. 3½% War Loan.  
 £1,149 3s. 11d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.

## COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS ACCOUNT INVESTMENT

£924 13s. 2½% Funding Loan 1956-61.  
 £998 11s. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.

# PAYMENTS FOR 1954

## PAYMENTS

### HOUSE ACCOUNT—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent and Tax . . . . .	350	0	0			
Rates (General) on Flats . . . . .	284	1	0			
Rates on Offices, etc. from 1/4/53 . . . . .	770	18	10			
Rates (Water) . . . . .	49	11	0			
Gas and Light . . . . .	145	12	1			
Coal and Coke . . . . .	134	8	3			
Telephone . . . . .	22	17	9			
Cleaning . . . . .	7	15	0			
Insurance . . . . .	79	18	8			
Repairs and Renewals . . . . .	166	17	9	2,012	0	4

SALARIES AND WAGES . . . . . 1,502 13 0

PRINTING AND STATIONERY . . . . . 57 16 6

### JOURNAL ACCOUNT—

Printing . . . . .	831	14	6			
Postage . . . . .	24	16	11	856	11	5

LIBRARY EXPENDITURE . . . . . 5 11 6

GRANT TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
UNION OF ORIENTALISTS . . . . . 25 0 0

### SUNDRY EXPENSES—

Postage . . . . .	45	10	10			
Teas . . . . .	52	16	6			
Lectures . . . . .	40	15	10			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance . . . . .	48	13	0			
General . . . . .	84	16	6			
Fee for Income Tax claim . . . . .	15	15	0			
Audit Fee . . . . .	5	5	0			
Legal Fees . . . . .	34	0	0	327	12	8

### BALANCE ON 31.12.1954

On Current Account . . . . .	370	19	6			
Cash in hand . . . . .	4	6	11			
„ „ Post Office Savings Bank . . . . .	507	11	5	882	17	10
				<u>£5,670</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

N. E. WATERHOUSE,  
Professional Auditor.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { A. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Council.  
H. C. BOWEN, Auditor for the Society.

16th August, 1955.

# SPECIAL FUNDS, 1954

RECEIPTS		ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND		PAYMENTS	
		£	s. d.		£ s. d.
SALES, 1953-54		167	17 0	BALANCE, 1.1.54	65 17 4
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT		17	1	BINDING 297 COPIES VOL. XVI	22 5 6
				" 294 " " XXVIII	28 3 6
				" 232 " " XXXII	23 4 0
				" 380 " " XXXIV	28 10 0
				POSTAGE	5 8
				31/12/54 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
				SUMMARY	8 1
		<u>£168</u>	<u>14 1</u>		<u>£168 14 1</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND			
BALANCE, 1/1/54	195 13 7	BINDING 100 COPIES VOL. 25	5 14 6
SALES, 1953-54	62 7 5	POSTAGE	10
		31/12/54 BALANCE CARRIED TO	252 5 8
		SUMMARY	
	<u>£258 1 0</u>		<u>£258 1 0</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1954			
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	8 1	CASH AT BANK—	
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONO-		On Current Account	192 13 9
GRAPH FUND	252 5 8	On Deposit Account	60 0 0
	<u>£252 13 9</u>		<u>£252 13 9</u>

## TRUST FUNDS, 1954

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND			
BALANCE, 1.1.54	38 1 0	BINDING 77 COPIES VOL. X	8 13 3
SALES, 1953-54	153 18 11	" 267 " " XII	25 11 9
DIVIDENDS	18 0 0	" 250 " " XIII	34 7 6
		" 182 " " XIV	16 6 1
		" 353 " " XV	48 10 0
		" 349 " " XVI	25 9 0
		" 255 " " XVII	19 2 6
		POSTAGE	9 4
		31/12/54 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
		SUMMARY	31 0 9
	<u>£209 19 11</u>		<u>£209 19 11</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND			
BALANCE, 1/1/54	28 12 11	31/12/54 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
DIVIDENDS	9 15 0	SUMMARY	38 7 11
	<u>£38 7 11</u>		<u>£38 7 11</u>

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND			
BALANCE, 1/1/54	49 19 0	CASH PRIZE	25 0 0
DIVIDENDS	24 11 3	PRINTING	2 1 3
		31/12/54 BALANCE CARRIED TO	47 9 9
		SUMMARY	
	<u>£74 11 0</u>		<u>£74 11 0</u>

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT			
BALANCE, 1/1/54	350 15 8	31/12/54 BALANCE CARRIED TO	359 7 5
DIVIDENDS	8 11 9	SUMMARY	
	<u>£359 7 5</u>		<u>£359 7 5</u>

# SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1954

RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND . . .	31	9 9	31/12/54 CASH AT BANK ON		
GOLD MEDAL FUND . . .	38	7 11	CURRENT ACCOUNT . . .	476	14 10
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . .	47	9 9			
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT . .	359	7 5			
	<u>£476</u>	<u>14 10</u>		<u>£476</u>	<u>14 10</u>

## TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£800 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund) ("B" account).  
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund) ("A" account).  
 £845 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).  
 £40 3½% Conversion Loan (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).  
 Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).  
 £229 16s. 9d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75 (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).

# BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1954

BALANCE 1/1/54 . . . . .	5	11 2	BURTON MEDAL . . . . .	6	6 8
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	16	2	31/12/54 CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . . . . .		8
	<u>£6</u>	<u>7 4</u>		<u>£6</u>	<u>7 4</u>

## INVESTMENT

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69

# JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1954

BALANCE, 1/1/54 . . . . .	1,131	13 7	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES—		
SALES, 1953-54 . . . . .	106	10 0	Exhibition, 1954-55 . . . . .	50	0 0
DIVIDENDS . . . . .	177	3 11	POSTAGE . . . . .		3 6
INTEREST ON P.O. SAVINGS BANK . .	10	2 6	BALANCE—		
REFUND OF ADVANCE TO XXXIIRD INT. CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS . . .	100	0 0	CASH AT BANK IN CURRENT ACCOUNT 1,059 17 6		
			CASH IN P.O. SAVINGS BANK . . . . .	415	9 0 1,475 6 6
	<u>£1,525</u>	<u>10 0</u>		<u>£1,525</u>	<u>10 0</u>

## FORLONG FUND INVESTMENTS

£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.  
 £1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.  
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).  
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).  
 £1,051 8s. 7d. British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968-73.  
 £923 7s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75.

I have examined the above Statements with the Books and Vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE,

Professional Auditor.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { A. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Council.  
 H. C. BOWEN, Auditor for the Society.

16th August, 1955.

in 1852, but the Royal Asiatic Society might take a just pride in its share of what had been achieved in the course of that journey. When he joined the Society in 1912 we were on the eve of the First World War and the 43 years had seen immense changes in the world. For the Society none of these was more significant than the development of a new relationship between Great Britain and the countries of Asia. In the past the adherence of British officials in various Asian countries and especially in India had given great strength to the Society ; for when retiring after a lifetime of service in Asia, they were an invaluable source of knowledge about its cultures and civilizations, and often spent their years of retirement in work of the highest scholarly merit. As they left the scene, their place must be taken by a younger generation of professional scholars, many of whom even if they had not lived long in an Eastern country were given great opportunities of research. Some, but by no means all, were members of the Society. To those that were he appealed to persuade all their colleagues to join a Society which had striven so long and so successfully to provide them with their academic opportunities. On a broader issue, at no time in our history had a wide and sympathetic understanding of the great civilizations of the East been of greater moment in our national life. The Royal Asiatic Society, which numbered many citizens of Asia among its members and received the generous support of several Asian Governments, had as its chief object to develop and enlarge that understanding.

---



## PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- 'Abdar-razzāq al Hasani, Sayyid. *Al-Ṣ-ābi'ūn* (past and present).  
*Sidon*, 1955. *From the Author.*
- 'Abd-al-Qāhir al Jurjāni. *Asrār al-Balāgha*. *Mysteries of Eloquence*.  
Ed. Hellmut Ritter. *Istanbul*, 1954. *From the Editor.*
- Abhidhammapitaka. *Patthānappakaraṇam*, pts. 1, 2. Ed. Pandit  
Kirielle Nanawimala Thero. [Sripada Tripitaka Ser., Vols. 8, 9.]  
*Colombo*, 1954. *From the Public Trustee of Sripada.*
- Abu 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī. *Kitab Ādāb as-Ṣuḥba*. Ed. M. J.  
Kister. [Oriental Notes and Studies, No. 6.] *Jerusalem*, 1954.  
*From Israel Or. Soc.*
- Abū Ḥanīfa. *The Book of plants of. A—H—ad-Dīnawari*. Part of  
Alphabetical Section . . . Ed. B. Lewin. (U.U.Å, 1953:—10.)  
*Uppsala*, 1953. *From Universitetsbiblioteket.*
- Allen, G. C., and Donnithorne, A. G. *Western Enterprise in Far Eastern  
Economic Development. China and Japan*. *London*, 1954.  
*From Messrs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*
- Altekar, A. S. *Catalogue . . . Gupta Gold Coins . . . Bayana Hoard*.  
*Bombay*, 1954. *From the Author.*
- Arberry, A. J. *The Legacy of Persia*. *Oxford*, 1953.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Asiri, Fazl Mahmud. *Studies in Urdu Literature*. [Visrabharati  
Studies, 19.] *Santiniketan*, 1954. *From Visra-bharati.*
- (Sri) Aurobindo. (1) *Kalidasa*. 2nd Ser. (2) *Sir A—Internationales  
Universitätszentrum, and publications of the Sri Aurobindo  
Ashram*. *Pondicherry*, 1954–5. *Presented.*
- Bareau, André. *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*. [Publ.  
E.F.E.O., Vol. 38.] *Saigon*, 1955.  
*From École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
- Bailey, H. W. *Indo-Scythian Studies . . . Khotanese Texts*. Vol. II.  
*Cambridge*, 1954. *From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Baladeva-prasāda Miśra. *Bhāratīya saṃskṛti-ko Gosvāmī Tulsī-dās-kā  
yoga-dāna*. *Nagpur*, 1953. *From the University.*
- Balazs, E. *Le Traité Juridique du "Souei-Chou"*. *Leyden*, 1954.  
*From E. J. Brill.*
- Baroda. *Historical Selections from Baroda Records*. General ed.  
P. M. Joshi. (N.S.) Vol. I. Sayaji Rao, II, 1826–1835. Compiled  
by V. G. Joshi. *Baroda*, 1955.  
*From the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay.*
- Barrett, Douglas. *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*.  
*London*, 1954. *From the Trustees.*
- Barthélemy, O. P., D. and Milik, J. T., with contributions by R. de Vaux,  
G. M. Crowfoot, H. J. Plenderleith, G. L. Harding. *Qumran  
Cave I*. [Discoveries in the Judean Desert, I.] *Oxford*, 1955.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*

- Basham, A. L. The wonder that was India. *London*, 1954.  
*From Messrs. Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd.*
- Baumgartel, E. J. The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt. Revised ed.  
*O.U.P.*, 1955. *From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Beckingham, C. F., and Huntingford, G. W. B. Tr. and ed. Some  
 Records of Ethiopia, 1593-1646. [Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., No. 107.]  
*London*, 1954. *From the Society.*
- Bell, R. Introduction to the Qur'an. [Edinburgh Univ. Publ., Language  
 and Literature, No. 6.] *Edinburgh*, 1953.  
*From Edinburgh Univ. Press.*
- Bezacier, L. L'Art Viêtnamien.  
*From L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
- Bhattacharya, Sukumar. The East India Company . . . economy of  
 Bengal . . . 1704-1740. *London*, 1954. *From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*
- Bible. New Testament. . . Authentic New Testament ed. and tr. from  
 the Greek for the general reader by H. J. Schonfield . . . *London*,  
 1955. *From Dennis Dobson, Ltd.*
- Bibliographie Bouddhique. T. 21-3. *Paris*, 1952.  
*From Adrien-Maisonneuve.*
- Bloch, J. . . . Grammatical Structure . . . Dravidian Languages.  
 English tr. by R. G. Harshe. *Poona*, 1954.  
*From Deccan College Post-graduate Research Inst.*
- Bodman, N. C. A Linguistic Study of the Shih Ming. [Harvard-  
 Yenching Institute Studies, XI.] *Cambridge, Mass.*, 1954.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Bolitho, H. Jinnah. Creator of Pakistan. *London*, 1954.  
*From John Murray.*
- Bombay Record Series. Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. 1. . . . Secret and  
 Political Department Series. 1755-1820. Compiled by V. G.  
 Dighe. *Bombay*, 1954. *From the Director of Archives.*
- Brown, Delmer M. Nationalism in Japan. *Berkeley-Los Angeles*, 1955.  
*From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Bruhn, Klaus. Śīlāṅkas Cauppaṇṇamatrapurisa-cariya . . . beitrage  
 zur Kenntnis d. Jaina-Universalgeschichte. [Alt.-u. Neu-Indische  
 Studien.] *Hamburg*, 1954. *From Cram de Gruyter and Co.*
- Bruno, D. Arvid. Die Bücher Samuel and Die Bücher Könige. Eine  
 Rhythmische untersuchung. *Stockholm*, 1955. *From the Author.*
- Burney, Md. E. Islam. Message of the Qurān. *Hyderabad*, 1953.  
*From the Author.*
- Burrow, T. The Sanskrit Language. *London*, 1955.  
*From Messrs. Faber and Faber.*
- Chaudhuri, Haridas. The Philosophy of Integralism. *Calcutta*, 1954.  
*From Sri Aurobindo Ashram.*
- Chaudhury, Pravasjivan. Studies in comparative aesthetics.  
*Santiniketan*, 1953. *From Visra-Bharati.*
- Chavarria-Aguilar, O. L. Lectures in Linguistics. *Poona*, 1954.  
*From Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Inst.*
- Chester Beatty Library. . . . Handlist . . . Arabic MSS. Vol. I, by  
 A. J. Arberry. *Dublin*, 1955. *From Chester Beatty Library.*

- Chin Kee Oun. *Malaya upside-down. Singapore, 1946.*  
*From Sir R. Winstedt.*
- China. Bibliography. Catalogue of Chinese Topography (in progress).  
*Japanese. From National Diet Library, Tokyo.*
- Chow Yih-Ching. *La Philosophie morale dans le Néo-Confucianisme*  
 (Tcheou Touden-Yi). *Paris, 1954.*  
*From Presses Universitaires de France.*
- Ch'ü Yüan. K'ü Jüan. *Zbiór referatów wygłoszonych na sesji ku*  
*czci Poetz. Ed. W. Jabłoński. Warsaw, 1954. Presented.*
- Coedès, G. *Inscriptions du Cambodge. Vol. VI. Paris, 1954.*  
*From l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
- Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques.  
*Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès, Vienna, 1952. Vienna, 1954. Presented.*
- Conze, E. *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom. London,*  
*1955. From the Buddhist Society.*
- Crawford, V. E. *Sumerian Economic Texts from the 1st Dynasty of*  
*Isin. [Babylonian Inscriptions . . . Collection . . . J. B. Nies,*  
*Yale University, Vol. 9.] New Haven, 1954.*  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Creswell, K. A. C. *A bibliography of Muslim Architecture in North*  
*Africa (excluding Egypt). [Suppl. Hespérus, T. 1.] Paris, 1954.*  
*From the Author.*
- Dandin. *Avantisundarī. Ed., etc., Sri K. S. Mahādeva Śāstri.*  
*Trivandrum, 1954. From Hon. Director MSS. Library, Trivandrum.*
- Dārā Shikōh : *Life and Works by Bikrama Jit Hasrat. Calcutta, 1953.*  
*From Visra-Bharati.*
- Dārā Shikōh. Vol. I. *Biography. By Kalikaranjan Qanungo. 2nd ed.*  
*Calcutta, 1952. From S. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd.*
- Das, Chittaranjan. *Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature of*  
*Orissa. [Visrabharati Studies, 14.] Santiniketan, 1951.*  
*From Visra-Bharati.*
- Davidson, M. *A list of published translations from Chinese into English,*  
*French, and German. Pt. 1. Literature, exclusive of Poetry.*  
*Ann Arbor, 1952. From American Council of Learned Societies.*
- Dawson, Christopher, ed. *The Mongol Mission Narratives and Letters . . .*  
*Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China . . . 13th and 14th*  
*cents. London, 1955. From Messrs. Sheed and Ward.*
- Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Japonicum. Amacusa, 1595.*  
*3 vols., collotype. Tokyo, 1950-2. From National Diet Library.*
- Drewes, G. W. J. *Een Javaanse Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw.*  
*Leyden, 1954. From "Fondation de Goeje".*
- Driver, G. R. *Aramaic Documents of the 5th cent. B.C. Tr. and ed. with*  
*notes. Oxford, 1954. From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Drower, E. S. *The Haran Gawaita . . . and the Baptism of Hibil-*  
*Ziwa . . . Mandaic Text . . . tr., notes, etc. Rome (Vatican), 1953.*  
*From Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.*
- Dunlop, D. M. *The History of the Jewish Khazars. Princeton, N.J.,*  
*1954. From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Dupont, P. *La Version Mōne du Nārada-Jātaka. [Publ. E.F.E.O.,*  
*T. 36.] Saigon, 1954. From Faculté des Lettres, Univ. de Paris.*

- Edgerton, Franklin. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. (10 public lectures.)  
Benares, 1954. *From Banaras Hindu Univ.*
- Elwin, Verrier. Tribal Myths of Orissa. O.U.P., Bombay, 1954.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Eliade, Mircea. Le Chamanisme et les Techniques Archaïques de  
l'Éxtase. Paris, 1951.
- Eliade, Mircea. Le Yoga. Immortalité et Liberté. Paris, 1954.  
*From Payot.*
- Eliot, Sir Charles. Hinduism and Buddhism. An Historical Sketch.  
3 vols. Reprint. London, 1954.  
*From Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul.*
- Emst, P. Van. Geld in Melanesië. Amsterdam n.d.  
*From K. Inst. v. d. Tropen.*
- Epigraphia Indica. Vol. 29., pts. 2, 3. Delhi, 1954. *Exchange.*
- Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1949-1950. Delhi, 1954. *Exchange.*
- Fairbank, John King, and Banno, Masataka. Japanese Studies of  
Modern China. Bibliographical guide . . . Historical and Social-  
Science Research . . . 19th and 20th Cent. Tokyo, 1955.  
*From Charles E. Tuttle and Co.*
- Farrukh, Omar A. Two Arab Poets. Ibrāhīm Tūqān and Abu-l-Qāsim  
as-Shābbi. Beirut, 1954. *From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*
- Fawcett, Sir C. The English Factories in India. Vol. 4. (N.S.) The  
Eastern Coast and the Bay of Bengal. Oxford, 1955.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Field, Henry. Bibliography on Southwestern Asia. Coral Gables, Fla.,  
1953. *From the Author.*
- Fine, Hillel A. Studies in Middle-Assyrian Chronology and Religion.  
Cincinnati, 1955. *From Hebrew Union College.*
- Foucher, A. Les vies Antérieures du Bouddha . . . Choix de Contes. . .  
illustré par J. Auboyer. [Musée Guimet. Bibl. de Diffusion. T. 61.]  
Paris, 1955. *Exchange.*
- Frye, R. N., tr. The History of Bukhara. . . from a Persian Abridge-  
ment of the Arabic Original by Narshakhī. Cambridge, Mass., 1954.  
*From the Mediaeval Acad. of America.*
- Gardet, L. Expériences Mystiques en Terres non-Chrétiennes. Paris,  
1953. *From Editions "Alsatia".*
- Ghoshaka. Abhidharmāmṛta. Skt. rendering from the Chinese, with  
notes and introductory study. By Shanti Bhikshu Sastri.  
Santiniketan, 1953. *From Visra-Bharati.*
- Gjessing, G. Changing Lapps. London, 1954.  
*From London School of Economics.*
- Gode, P. K. Studies in Indian Literary History. 2 vols. [Singhi Jain  
Series, No. 37.] Bombay, 1953-4. *From the Editor.*
- Golish, Vitold de. Primitive India. Tr. Nadine Peppard. London, 1954.  
*From George Harrap and Co., Ltd.*
- Gorwala, Shri A. D. The Indian Ideal. Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar  
Memorial Lectures, 1952. Nagpur, 1954. *From Nagpur Univ. [P]*
- hGos gžon-nu dlal. Deb-ther Sñon-po. The Blue Annals, pt. 2. Tr.  
G. N. Roerich. Calcutta, 1953. *From Asiatic Society, Bengal.*

- Grunebaum, G. E. Von. Islam. Essays . . . nature . . . growth of a cultural tradition. [Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations, 4.] *Menasha, Wisconsin*.  
*From Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of Chicago.*
- Gupta, Chandra Bhan. The Indian Theatre . . . origin . . . development . . . to the present day. *Benares, 1954*.  
*From Motilal Banarasidass.*
- Gupta, Nolini Kanta. The Quest and the Goal. *Pondicherry, 1954*.  
*From Sri Aurobindo Ashram.*
- Hackin, J. Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (ancienne Kâpici). 1939-1940. 2 vols. [Mém. . . Délégation Arch. Française en Afghanistan, T. XI.] *Paris, 1954*. *From the Musée Guimet.*
- Hallade, M. Arts de l'Asie Ancienne. Thèmes et Motifs. 1. L'Inde. 2. L'Asie du Sud-Est. [Recherches et Docs. d'Art et d'Archéologie, T. 5, fasc. 1, 2.] *Paris, 1954-5*. *From the Musée Guimet.*
- Hambis, Louis. La description du Monde. Texte . . . en Français moderne . . . introduction . . . notes. *Klincksieck, Paris, 1955*.  
*From Rev. Dr. A. C. Moule.*
- Hamd b. Md. al-Khattabi. Al-Bayân fi l'Jâz-il-Qur'ân. Ed. Dr. 'Abd-al-'Alim. *Aligarh, 1954*. *From the Muslim Univ., Aligarh.*
- Hamilton, J. R. Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties . . . [Bibl. d. l'Inst. des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. 10.] *Paris, 1955*.  
*From Inst. des Hautes Études Chinoises.*
- Hansford, S. Howard. A glossary of Chinese Art and Archæology. [China Society Sinological Ser., No. 4.] *London, 1954*.  
*From the China Society.*
- Hartman, Sven S. Gayōmart. Étude sur le Syncretisme dans l'Ancien Iran. *Uppsala, 1953*.
- Hasluck, M. The Unwritten Law in Albania. *Cambridge, 1954*.  
*From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Hassan el-Hajjé. Le Parler Arabe de Tripoli. *Paris, 1954*.  
*From Librairie C. Klincksieck.*
- Hekmat, Dr. Ali Asghar. Glimpses of Persian Literature. . . 7 extension lectures . . . Faculty of Arts, Univ. of Delhi. . . Dec., 1954-Mar., 1955. *Typewritten*. *From the Author.*
- Heras, S.J., Rev. H. Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture. Vol. I. *Bombay, 1953*.  
*From Indian Hist. Res. Inst., St. Xavier's College.*
- Herbert, E. A Taoist Notebook. [Wisdom of the East Series.] *London, 1955*.  
*From John Murray.*
- Heyd, Uriel. Language reform in Modern Turkey. *Jerusalem, 1954*.  
*From the Israel Or. Society.*
- Heyworth-Dunne, J. Pakistan. . . birth of a new Muslim State. *Cairo, 1952*.  
*Egypt. The Co-operative Movement. Cairo, 1952.*
- Land Tenure in Islam. A.D. 630-1951. *Cairo, 1952*.  
*A basic Bibliography on Islam.*
- Al-Yemen. A general social, political, and economic survey.
- Hiriyanna, M. Sanskrit Studies. *Mysore, 1954*.  
*From Kavyalaya Publishers.*



- (The) History and Culture of the Indian People. III. The Classical Age. Ed. R. C. Majumdar. *Bombay*, 1954. *From Arthur Probsthain.*
- Hollister, J. N. The Shi'a of India. [Luzac's Or. Religions Ser., Vol. 8.] *London*, 1953. *From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*
- Horváth, Tibor. The Art of Asia, in the Francis Hopp Museum . . . *Budapest. Budapest*, 1954. *From Inst. of Cultural Relations.*
- Hsiao-Tung Fei. China's Gentry. Revised ed. M. P. Redfield. With six Life-Histories of China's Gentry families collected by Yung-teh Chow . . . *Chicago*, 1953. *From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Hulsewé, A. F. P. Remnants of Han Law. Vol. I. Introductory Studies . . . annotated tr. of chaps. 22 and 23 . . . History of the Former Han Dynasty. [Sinica Leidensia, Vol. 9.] *Leyden*, 1955. *From Sinologisch Instituut.*
- Ibn al-Mudjawir. Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis. . . Ta'rih al-Mustabsir . . . ed. Oscar Löfgren. Pt. 2. [De Goeje Fund. XIII, 2.] *Leyden*, 1954. *From Stichting De Goeje.*
- Ibn Rushd. Averroes' Tahafut al-Tahafut. Tr. with intro. and notes by Simon van den Bergh. 2 Vols. *London*, 1954. *From Gibb Memorial Fund.*
- Ibn Taghrî Birdî. History of Egypt . . . Pt. I. A.D. 1382-1399. Tr. from the Arabic . . . by W. Popper. *Berkeley and Los Angeles*, 1954. *From Univ. of California Press.*
- India. The Seventh Year. *New Delhi*, 1954. *From High Commissioner for India.*
- India Office Library. Catalogue of the Malayalam MSS. By Chelнат Achyuta Menon. Catalogue . . . Gujarati and Rajashani MSS. by J. F. Blumhardt. Revised and enlarged by A. Master. *O.U.P.*, 1954. *From the Librarian, I.O.L.*
- International Conference on Asian Problems. September, 1952, and November, 1953. *New York*. *From the Organization of the Conference.*
- International Congress of Orientalists. Proceedings 22nd Congress . . . *Istanbul* . . . 1951. Vol. I. *Istanbul*, 1953. *Bought.*
- Iqbal, Md. Poems . . . Tr. by V. G. Kiernan. [Wisdom of the East Ser.] *London*, 1955. *From John Murray.*
- Irugapa Daṇḍādhinātha. Nānārtha-ratnamālā. Critically ed. B. Ramachandra Sharma. *Poona*, 1954. *From Deccan College Post-graduate Res. Inst.*
- Ivanow, W. Studies in Early Persian Ismailism. 2nd ed. *Bombay*, 1955. *From the Ismaili Society.*
- Irwin, J. Shawls. A study in Indo-European Influences. [Victoria and Albert Museum Monograph, No. 9.] *London*, 1955. *From H.M. Stationery Office.*
- Ja'far al-Khalilî. Awlād al-Khalilî. *Baghdad*, 1955. *From the Author.*
- Kane, Pandurang Vaman. History of Dharmaśāstra. Vol. 4. *Poona*, 1953. *From Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute.*
- Kato, J. Religion and thought in Ancient China. [Harvard-Yenching-Doshisha Eastern Cultural Lecture Series, No. 3.] *Japanese, n.d.* *Presented.*

- Kaltenmark, M., tr. *Le Lie-sien Tchouan* . . . (with notes). *Peking*, 1953. *From Inst. des Hautes Études Chinoises.*
- Katre, S. M. *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* . . . app. by P. K. Gode. 2nd ed. *Poona*, 1954. *From Deccan College Post-graduate and Res. Inst.*
- Korbel, J. *Danger in Kashmir*. *Princeton*, 1954. *From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Korea. *Bibliography. Korean Studies guide*. Compiled by S. H. Hazard and others, ed. by R. Marcus. *Berkeley and Los Angeles*, 1954. *From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Kotb, Sayed. *Social Justice in Islam*. Tr. from Arabic by J. B. Hardie. *Washington*, 1953. *From American Council of Learned Soc.*
- Kou Pao-Koh, Ignace. *Deux Sophistes Chinois. Houei Che et Kong-Souen Long*. *Paris*, 1953. *From Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.*
- Kraft, E. S. *Zum dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert. Berichte des Generals Funingga*. [Das Mongolische Weltreich, Bd. 4.] *Leipzig*, 1953. *From Otto Harrassowitz.*
- Krause, Charlotte. *Ancient Jaina Hymns*. *Ujjain*, 1952. *From Director of Information, Gwalior.*
- Kreider, H. H. *Essentials of Modern Turkish*. *Washington*, 1954. *From the Middle East Institute.*
- Krickeberg, Walter. *Ältere Ethnographica Nordamerika im Berliner Museum f. Völkerkunde*. *Berlin*, 1954. *From Dietrich Reimer.*
- Kroeber, A. L. *Proto-Lima*. . . middle period culture of Peru. App. Cloths. Dwight T. Wallace. [Fieldiana, Anthropology, Vol. 44, No. 1.] *Chicago*, 1954. *Exchange.*
- Kuan-Tzu. *Economic Dialogues in Ancient China*. Selections from the K—T—. Tr. T'an Po-fu and Wen Kung-wen . . . Ed., etc., by L. Maverick. *New Haven*, 1954. *From Far Eastern Publications, Yale Univ.*
- Kurat, Akdes Nimet. *Türk-İngiliz münasebetlerinin başlangici ve gelişmesi (1553-1610)*. *Ankara*, 1953. *From the Author.*
- Kurat, Akdes Nimet. *Prut Seferi ve Barişi, 1123 (1711)*. 2 vols. *Ankara*, 1951-3. *From the Author.*
- Khartoum University. *Social and Economic Problems of the Middle East*. Report . . . Erkowit Study Camp, 1953. *Presented*. [P]
- Lambton, A. K. S. *Persian Vocabulary*. *Cambridge*, 1954. *From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Lane, Arthur. *Style in Pottery*. *London*, 1948. *From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Language in Culture. Conference . . . Inter-relations of Language and other Aspects of Culture. Ed. H. Hoijer. [Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations.] *Chicago*, 1954. *From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Laures, Johannes, S.J. *Takayama Ukon. u. d. anfanges d. Kirche in Japan*. *Münster*, 1954. *From Aschendorffsche Verlag.*
- The Catholic Church in Japan. *A Short History*. 1954. *From Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland-Tokyo.*

Law, B. C. Indological Studies, Pt. 3. *Allahabad*, 1954.

Historical Geography of Ancient India. *Calcutta*, 1954.

*From the Author.*

Leger, François. Les Influences Occidentales dans la Révolution de l'Orient. Inde-Malaisie-Chine. 2 vols. *Paris*, 1955.

*Presented by Sir Richard Winstedt.*

le May, R. The Culture of South-East Asia. *London*, 1954.

*From Messrs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*

Lewicki, T. Polska i Kraje Sasiednie w. swietle Ksiegi Rogera, geografa arabskiego XII, wieku, Al-Idrisiego. Cz. II. [Prace Orientalistyczne. T. 2.] *Warsaw*, 1954.

*From Zaklad Orientalistyki Pan.*

Lien-sheng Yang, compiler. Selected Chinese Texts in the classical and colloquial styles. *Cambridge, Mass.*, 1953.

*From Harvard-Yenching Inst.*

Liu, James. Elizabethan and Yuan. A brief comparison of some conventions in Poetic Drama. [China Soc. Occasional Papers, No. 8.] *London*, 1955.

*From the China Society.*

Luke, Sir H. The Old Turkey and the New. *London*, 1955.

*From Geoffrey Bles, Ltd.*

Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Library. . . . Descriptive Catalogue . . .

Marathi MSS. . . . Descriptive Cat. . . . Islamic MSS. . . . Vol. 3.

By T. Chandrasekharan. . . . Descriptive Cat. . . . Tamil MSS.

Vol. 9. *Madras*, 1953-4. *From Superintendent, Govt. Press.*

Mahābhārata. Critical ed. by V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar.

Fasc. 24, 25, and 27. *Poona*, 1953-4. *From Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.*

Mahābhārata. The Bhagavad-gītā. English tr. . . . commentary by W. D. P. Hill. 2nd abridged ed. *O.U.P.*, 1955.

*From Oxford Univ. Press.*

Mahdavi, Yahya. Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina. Persian. *Tehran*, 1954.

*From the Author.*

Majumdar, R. C. Inscriptions of Kambuja. *Calcutta*, 1953.

*From Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Marathas. Persian Records of Maratha History. Vol. III. Tr., etc., by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. *Bombay*, 1954.

*From Govt. Central Press.*

Massignon, L. Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane. Nouvelle ed. *Paris*, 1954.

*From Joseph Vrin.*

Mayne, P. The Narrow Smile. *London*, 1955.

*From John Murray.*

Mayrhofer, Manfred. Kurzgefasstes etymologisches wörterbuch des Altindischen. Pts. 3, 4. *Heidelberg*, 1954-5.

*From Carl Winter.*

Melkonian, Vartan. The Bakhtiaris. Revised ed. *Basra*, 1954.

*From the Author. [P]*

Mellema, R. L. Wayang puppets. Carving, colouring, symbolism. Tr. Mantle Hood. *Amsterdam*, 1954.

*Exchange.*

Mendelsohn. Religions of the Ancient Near East. Sumero-Akkadian Religious Texts and Ugaritic Epics. *New York*, 1955.

*From the Liberal Arts Press.*

Middle East Institute, Washington. Middle East Resources. Problems and Prospects. . . . series of addresses . . . Ed. by H. P. Hall. *Washington*, 1954.

*From the Middle East Institute.*

- Miles, G. C. Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Ṭawā'f. *New York*, 1954.  
*From the American Numismatic Soc.*
- Mishra, Dr. Balder Prasad. The contribution of Tulsidas to the Culture of India. *Nagpur*, 1953.  
*From Nagpur University.*
- Mishra (Dr. Umesh). A critical study of the Bhagavadgītā. *Allahabad*, 1954.  
*From Tirabhukti Publications.*
- Mitra, Dr. R. C. The decline of Buddhism in India. [Visra-Bharati Studies, No. 20.] *Santiniketan*, 1954.  
*From Visra-Bharati.*
- Mitra, Sisirkumar. The Dawn Eternal. *Pondicherry*, 1954.  
*From Sri Aurobindo Ashram.*
- Mote, F. W. Japanese-sponsored Governments in China, 1937-1945. *Stanford*, 1954.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Murti, T. V. R. The Central Philosopher of Buddhism. *London*, 1955.  
*From Messrs. George Allen and Unwin.*
- Nagao, Gadjin Masato. A study of Tibetan Buddhism. *Japanese. Tokyo*, 1954.  
*From the Author.*
- Nahar, Prithwi Singh. The Winds of Silence. *Pondicherry*, 1954.  
*From Sri Aurobindo Ashram.*
- Nanita, Abelardo R. Trujillo. 1954.  
*From Embassy of the Dominican Republic.*
- Narada Thera, Le Ven. La Doctrine Bouddhique de la Re-naissance. Tr. Dr. A. Migot. *Paris*, 1953.  
*From Adrien-Maisonnewe.*
- Needham, J. Science and Civilization in China. Vol. I. *Cambridge*, 1954.  
*From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Nilakanta Sastri. History of South India . . . prehistoric times to the Fall of Vijayanagar. *O.U.P.*, 1955.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Nöldekes, Th. Belegwörterbuch z. Klassischen Arabischen Sprache. 1, 2 Lfg. Bearbeitet u. heraus. v. Jörg Kraemer. *Berlin*, 1952-4.  
*From Walter de Gruyter and Co.*
- Nyberg, H. S. Donum Natalicium H. S. Nyberg Oblatum. Ed. Erik Gren, B. Lewin, H. Ringgren, Stik Wikander. *Uppsala*, 1954.  
*From Dr. Erik Gren.*
- Ourartou. Neapolis des Scythes, Kharezm. 3 articles tr. from the Russian by A. Belkind. [l'Orient Ancien illustré, No. 8.] *Paris*, 1954.  
*From Adrien-Maisonnewe.*
- Pakistan, 1953-4. *Karachi*, 1954. *From High Commissioner for Pakistan.*
- Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue du Fonds Khmer. p. Au Chhieng. *Paris*, 1953.  
*From Bibliothèque Nationale.*
- Patwardhan, Sri Anna Saheb. The Brahmarshi's Gospel . . . transcendental Bases of Vaidik Religion and Society. Compiled by V. K. Palekar Aprabuddha. *Hyderabad, n.d.* *From D. K. Garde.*
- Paulusz, J. H. O. Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council, 1762. *Ceylon*, 1954.  
*From the Author.*
- Peeters, Paul. Le Tréfonds Oriental de l'Hagiographie Byzantine. Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientales. 2 vols. *Brussels*, 1950-1.  
*From Société des Bollandistes.*
- Pellat, C. Le Milieu Basrien et la formation de Gāhijiz. *Paris*, 1953.  
*From Adrien-Maisonnewe.*

- Pelliot, P. Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine. Ed. Robert des Rotours. [Œuvres Posthumes P—P—, IV.] Paris, 1953.  
*From Adrien-Maisonneuve.*
- Penzl, H. A Grammar of Pashto. Descriptive study . . . dialect of Kandahar . . . Washington, 1955.  
*From American Council of Learned Societies.*
- Petech, Luciano. Il Nuovo Ramusio, II. I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal. I Desideri. Pt. 5. Rome, 1954.  
*From Ist. Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.*
- Phillips, Wendell. Qataban and Sheba. London, 1955.  
*From Messrs. Victor Gollancz, Ltd.*
- Pisani, Vittore. Storia delle Letterature Antiche dell' India. [Storia d. Letterature di tutto il Mondo.] Milan, 1954. *From the Author.*
- Pithawalla, Maneck B. An Introduction to Kashmir. Its Geology and Geography. Karachi, 1953. *From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Price, A. F. The Diamond Sutra . . . Tr. from the Chinese. 2nd ed. London, 1955. *From the Buddhist Soc.*
- Pulleyblank, E. G. The Background of the rebellion of An Lu-Shan. [London Or. Series, 4.] Oxford, 1955. *From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Rāghava. Nānārthamañjari. Critically ed., K. V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma. Poona, 1954. *From Deccan College Post-graduate Res. Inst.*
- Ramachandraiya Oruganti. Studies on Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Waltair, 1953.  
*From the Author.*
- Rao, G. Subba. Indian Words in English . . . Oxford, 1954.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Reischauer, E. O. Enin's travels in T'ang China and Enin's Diary. New York, 1955. *From Ronald Press Co.*
- Rice, D. S. The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb MS. in the Chester Beatty Library. Dublin, 1955. *From Chester Beatty Library.*
- Ringgren, H. Studies in Arabian Fatalism. [U.U.Å., 1955, 2.] Uppsala, 1955. *From the University.*
- Roy, Atul Chandra. The career of Mir Jafar Khan (A.D. 1757-1765). Calcutta, 1953. *From the Author.*
- Runciman, Steven. A History of the Crusades. Vol. III. Cambridge, 1954. *From Cambridge Univ. Press.*
- Rundgren, F. Über Bildungen mits<sup>(v)</sup>- und n-t- Demonstrativen im Semitischen. Uppsala, 1955. *From Universitetsbiblioteket.*
- Santifaller, L. Zur Geschichte des ottonische-salischen Reichskirkensystems. [Sitz. Ö.A.W., Bd. 229, Abh. 1.] Vienna, 1954. *Exchange.*
- Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna. Ed., etc., Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya. Santiniketan, 1954. *From Visra-Bharati.*
- Śārngadeva. Saṅgitaratnākara with Kalānidhi of Kallinātha and Sudhākara of Simhabhūpāla. Vol. 4, Adhyāya 7. Ed. Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Adyar, 1953. *From the Adyar Library.*
- Schafer, E. H. The Empire of Min. Tuttle. Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 1954. *From Harvard-Yenching Inst.*
- Schmidt, W. Gebräuche des Ehemannes bei Schwangerschaft u. Geburt. [Wiener Beiträge z. Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik, Bd. 10.] Vienna, 1955. *Exchange.*
- Schrieke, B. Indonesian Sociological Studies. Pt. I. [Selected Studies



on Indonesia, Vol. 2.] *The Hague*, 1955.

*Presented by Sir Richard Winstedt.*

Schroeder, E. Muhammad's People. A tale by anthology. *Portland, Maine*, 1955. *From the Bond Wheelwright Co.*

Segal, J. B. The diacritical point and the accents in Syriac. [London Or. Series, Vol. 2.] *London*, 1953. *From Oxford Univ. Press.*

Sellheim, R. Die Klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörter-sammlungen, insbesondere die des Abū 'Ubaid. *Hague*, 1954.

*From Mouton and Co.*

Sendai. Tohoku University. A Catalogue of the Tohoku University collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism. Ed. Prof. Yensho Kanakura and others. *Sendai*, 1953. *From Tohoku Univ.*

Shejwalkar, Tryambak Shankar. Nagpur Affairs (Selections . . . Marathi letters from . . . Menavli Daftar). *Poona*, 1954.

*From Deccan College Post-graduate Res. Inst.*

Siang-tseh Chiang. The Nien Rebellion. *Seattle-Washington*, 1954.

*From Univ. of Washington Press.*

Sinha, B. P. The decline of the Kingdom of Magadha (c. A.D. 455-1000). *Benares*, 1954. *From the Author.*

Sinha, Narendra Krishna. Ed. Midnapore Salt Papers. Hijli and Tamluk (1781-1807). *Calcutta*, 1954.

*From W. Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee.*

Sivaramamurti, C. Mahābalipuram. 2nd ed. *Delhi*, 1955.

*From Dept. of Archaeology.*

Siyong hyangnagbo. (Collection of Korean folksongs with musical notations.) Ed. Inst. Far Eastern Studies, Chosun Christian University. *Seoul*, 1954. *From the University.*

Smith, D. Bonner, and Lumby, E. W. R. The Second China War. 1856-1860. [Publ. Navy Records Society, Vol. 95.] *London*, 1954.

*From Navy Records Soc.*

Smith, H. Inventaire rythmique des Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-sūtra. [U.U.Å., 1953 :—8.] *Uppsala*, 1953. *From Universitetsbiblioteket.*

Smith, M. The Sūfī Path of Love. An Anthology . . . *London*, 1954.

*From Messrs. Luzac and Co.*

Soden, W. v. Herrscher im Alten Orient. *Springer-Verlag*, 1954.

*From the Publishers.*

Subbarao, Bendapudi. Baroda through the Ages (. . . report . . . excavation . . . Baroda area, 1951-2). [M. S. University Archaeology Ser., No. 1.] *Baroda*, 1953. *From the Author.*

Suematsu, Yasukagu. Shinra-shi Kenkyu no Shomondai. [Tōyō Bunko Ronso, Ser. A, No. 36.] *Tokyo*, 1954. *Exchange.*

Sutton, L. P. Elwell. A Guide to Iranian area Study. *Ann Arbor*, 1952. *From American Council of Learned Societies.*

Thet Tin. Shwe Maw-haow thamaing. *Rangoon*, 1954.

*From Burma Translation Society.*

Till, W. C. Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der Koptischen Urkunden. [Sitz. Ö.A.W. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. 229, Abh. 2.] *Vienna*, 1954. *Exchange.*

- Tokyo Or. Library. Author Index . . . classified cat. of books . . .  
section XII. India . . . acquired . . . 1917-1950. *Tokyo*, 1952.  
*From the Toyo Bunko.*
- Tagore, Rabindranath. A Flight of Swans. Poems from Balākā.  
Tr. Aurobindo Bose. *London*, 1955. *From John Murray.*
- Ullendorff, E. The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia . . . *London*, 1955.  
*From Vallentine, Mitchell, and Co., Ltd.*
- Umeśa Miśra, Mahāmahopādhyāya. A critical study of the  
Bhagavadgītā. *Allahabad*, 1954. *From Tirabhukti Publications.*
- Upaniṣads. Skt. text. Kena-Upaniṣad, with commentary of Sankarā-  
chārya. [Poona Or. Ser.] *Poona*, 1919. *Presented by Sir W. Gurner.*
- Vahter (T.). Obinugrilaisten Kansojen Koristekuosit. (Finnish and  
German.) *Helsinki*, 1953. *From Soc. Finno-Ougrienne.*
- Vaughan, D. M. Europe and the Turk . . . 1350-1700. *Liverpool*, 1954.  
*From the University Press.*
- Vandier-Nicolas, N. Śāriputra et les six Maîtres d'Erreur. Facsimilé . . .  
MS. Chinois . . . Bibl. Nat. [Mission Pelliot . . . Ser. . . Quarto,  
No. V.] *Paris*, 1954. *From l'Imprimerie Nationale.*
- Vieyra, M. Hittite Art. 2300-750 B.C. *London*, 1955.  
*From Alec Tiranti, Ltd.*
- Vopadeva. Kavikalpadruma. Critically ed. Gajanan Balkrishna  
Palsule. *Poona*, 1954. *From Deccan College Post-graduate Res. Inst.*
- Vromans, A. G. (1) Die Indische Collectie van het Rijksinstituut v.  
Oorlogsdocumentatie te Amsterdam. (2) Chronologie v. d.  
gebeurtenissen aan het begin v. d. Pacific-oorlog. *Amsterdam*,  
1953, 1954. *From Rijksinstituut v. Oorlogsdocumentatie.*
- Waley, A. The Nine Songs. A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China.  
*London*, 1955. *From Messrs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*
- Walker, R. L. The Multi-State System of Ancient China. *Hamden*,  
*U.S.A.*, 1953. *From the Shoe String Press.*
- Washington. Library of Congress. Annual Report . . . year ending  
June, 1954. *Washington*, 1955. *Presented.*
- Whitaker, K. P. K. 1,200 Chinese Basic Characters . . . adaption for  
students of Cantonese . . . W. Simon's National Language version.  
1953. *From Messrs. Lund Humphries.*
- „ Cantonese Sentence Series. 1954. *From Arthur Probsthain.*
- Wiens, Herold J. China's March towards the Tropics. *Hamden*, 1954.  
*From the Shoe String Press.*
- Winstedt, Sir R. O. An Unabridged Malay-English Dictionary. *Kelly  
and Walsh*, 1955. *From Messrs. R. Clay and Co., Ltd.*
- Wurtzburg, C. E. Raffles of the Eastern Isles. *London*, 1954.  
*From Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.*
- Yazdani, G. Ajanta . . . Colour and monochrome reproductions . . .  
with explanatory text. . . inscriptions by N. P. Chakravarti and  
B. Ch. Chhabra. Pt. IV, 2 vols, text and plates. *O.U.P.*, 1955.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Zaehner, R. C. Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma. *Oxford*, 1955.  
*From Oxford Univ. Press.*
- Zajaczkowski, A. Słownik Arabsko-Kipczacki. . . państwa  
Mameluckiego. Buġat al-Muštāq fi Luġat at-Turk wa-l-qifzāq.  
Pt. 2. Verba. *Warsaw*, 1954. *From the Polish Or. Soc.*

Zucker, Friedrich. Festschrift. Ed. Dr. W. Müller. *Berlin*, 1954.  
*From Deutsche Akad. d. Wissenschaften.*

# PERIODICALS, REPORTS, ETC.

(Only new exchanges are included.)

- Ars Orientalis. Vol. I. [Fine Arts Dept., Univ. of Michigan, and the Freer Gallery of Art.] *Baltimore*, 1954. *From Smithsonian Inst.*
- Bulletin. Cilt 17, Sayi 67, 68. Cilt 18, Sayi 69, 70, 71. *Ankara*, 1953-4.  
*Presented.*
- Bulletin Analytique Philosophie. T. 8, Nos. 2-4, and T. 9, Nos. 1, 2, and T. 8. Tables . . . *Paris*, 1954-5.  
*From Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.*
- Bulletin of the Japan Society of London. Nos. 14-6. *Tonbridge*, 1954-5.  
*Presented.*
- Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. Vol. 51, No. 286-Vol. 53, No. 291. *Boston*, 1953-5.  
*Presented.*
- Bulletin of the Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India. No. 3, 1952-3. *Bombay*, 1954.  
*Presented.*
- Bulletin of the School of Education. Okayama Univ. No. 1. Japanese. *Okayama*, 1955.  
*Presented.*
- Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen. Bd. 31, heft 3. *Helsinki*, 1954.  
*From the Editor.*
- Historical Abstracts. . . Quarterly covering . . . World's Periodical Literature. 1775-1945. Vol. 1, No. 1. *New York*, 1955.  
*From the Editors.*
- Indian Archæology. 1953-4. A Review. *New Delhi*, 1954.  
*From the Director-General of Archæology in India.*
- India. National Archives. Annual Report for 1953. Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations. No. 1. *New Delhi*, 1955.  
*From the Director of Archives.*
- Indian Quarterly. Vol. 10, No. 4. *New Delhi*, 1954.  
*Presented.*
- Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū. Vol. II, No. 2. *Tokyo*, 1954. *Exchange.*
- Jaarbericht. No. 13, 1953-4. "Ex Oriente Lux." *Leyden*, 1954.  
*Exchange.*
- Jakarta. Dinas Purbakala, R. I.  
 Peninggalan<sup>2</sup> Purbakala di Gunung Penanggungan  
 . . . selama tahun, 1936, 1937, and 1940.  
 . . . di Gunung Ardjuno . . . 1939.  
 Prasati Indonesia. I.  
 Amerta . . . Nos. 1, 2.  
*Jakarta and Bandoeng*, 1950-4.  
*Exchange.*
- (The) Jinbun Gakuho. Vol. 4. *Kyoto*, 1954.  
*Exchange.*
- Journal of Indian History. Vol. 32, pts. 2, 3. Vol. 33, pt. 1. *Trivandrum*, 1954-5.  
*Bought.*
- Journal of the Manchester Univ. Egyptian and Oriental Society. No. 25, 1947-1953. *Manchester*, 1954. *From Manchester Univ. Press.*
- (Les) Cahiers de Tunisie. 2<sup>me</sup> Année, 2<sup>me</sup> Trim, No. 6. 3/4 Trim, Nos. 7/8. *Tunis*, 1954.  
*Exchange.*
- Journal of Oriental Studies. Vol. I, No. 2. *Hong Kong*, 1954.  
*From the University, Hong Kong.*

- (The) Kobe Gaidai Ronso. Vol. 5, Nos. 2, 3. 1954. *Presented.*  
 Kyoto University.  
 Tōhō Gakuhō. No. 24.  
 Annual Bibliography of Oriental Studies. 1951-2.  
 Silver Jubilee Vol. . . . Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyuso. Pt. I. European languages.  
 Kyoto, 1954. *Exchange and Presented.*
- Leipzig. Museums f. Völkerkunde. Jahrbuch Bd. 12, 1953. *Leipzig, 1954. Presented.*
- Manchester Cuneiform Studies. Vol. 5, Nos. 1, 2, 3. *Issued privately, 1955. From Prof. T. Fish.*
- Medieval Indian Quarterly. Vol. 1, Nos. 3/4. *Aligarh.*
- Melilah. Vol. 5. *Manchester, 1955. From Manchester Univ. Press.*
- Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes v. Hebraicos. Vol. 3. *Granada, 1954. From the University.*
- Orientalia Suecana. Vol. 2, fasc. 2/4. Vol. 3. *Uppsala, 1953-4. From Kungl. Univ. Bibliotek.*
- Pakistan. Vol. 4. *Karachi, 1954. From High Commission for Pakistan.*
- Przegląd Orientalistyczny. No. 1 (13). *Warsaw, 1955. Presented.*
- Revue des Études Islamiques. Année 1953. *Paris, 1954. Presented.*
- Rocznik Orientalistyczny. T. 19. *Warsaw, 1954. Exchange.*
- Sarajevo. Oriental Institute. Prilozi . . . Or. Filol. i Hist. Jugoslovenskih Naroda pod Turskom vladavinom. T. 3/4. *Sarajevo, 1953. From the Or. Inst., Sarajevo.*
- Sendai. Tohoku University. Annual report . . . Faculty of Arts and Letters . . . Vols. 4, 5. *Sendai, 1953-4. Presented.*
- Semitica. IV. Cahiers publ. . . . l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques . . . l'Univ. de Paris. *Paris, 1951-2. From Adrien-Maisonneuve.*
- (The) Shirin. Vol. 37, Nos. 3, 6. Vol. 38, Nos. 1, 2. *Kyoto, 1954-5. Exchange.*
- (The) Sinagaku-Kenkyu. No. 12. *Hirosima, 1955. From Sinological Soc. of Hirosima.*
- Soobshcheniya Akad. Nauk Gruzinskoï. T. 15, Nos. 1-7. *Tiflis, 1954. Exchange.*
- Studia Islamica. II, III. *Paris, 1954-5. Exchange.*
- Teki Historyczne. T. 6, Nos. 3/4. *London, 1954. Presented.*
- Tong bang hak chi. (Journal of Far Eastern Studies.) Vol. I. *Seoul, 1954. From Christian Univ., Seoul.*
- Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūsho Kiyō. Nos. 5, 6. *Tokyo, 1954. Presented.*
- Tōyō Bunka. (Oriental Culture.) Nos. 15/16, 17. *Tokyo, 1954. Exchange.*
- Tōyō Gakuhō. Vol. 36, Nos. 3, 4. Vol. 37, Nos. 1-4. *Tokyo, 1953-5. Presented.*
- Transactions. Glasgow University Oriental Society. Vol. 14, 1950-2. *Glasgow, 1953. From the Society.*
- Varalakshmi Academy. Research Board Bulletin, No. 1. Ed. R. Satyanarayana. *Mysore, 1954. From the Board of Research.*

# INDEX FOR 1955

## ARTICLES, authors and names of:—

- BAILEY, H. W., Buddhist Sanskrit, 13.  
 BAILEY, D. R. SHACKLETON, The Text of the Dharmasamuccaya, 37.  
 BOWEN, J., The East India Company's Education of its own servants, 105.  
 BOXER, C. R., Captain João Ribeiro and his History of Ceylon, 1622-1693, 1.  
 CLAUSON, G., Turkish Ghost Words, 124.  
 JOHNS, A. Daḱā'ik al-Ḥurūf by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel, 55, 139.  
 KENSDALE, W. E. N., Field Notes on the Arabic Literature of the Western Sudan: Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio, 162.  
 TAVADIA, J. C., A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi, 29.  
 ULLENDORFF, E., The Ethiopic Inscription from Egypt, 159.  
 VOGEL, J. Ph., Ujjhān-Ujjihāna-Ozoana, 25.

## ARTICLES, Subjects of:—

- 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel, 55, 139.  
 Arabic literature of the Western Sudan, 162.  
 Buddhist Sanskrit, 13.  
 Daḱā'ik al-Ḥurūf by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel, 55, 139.  
 Dharmasamuccaya, Text of, 37.  
 East India Company's Education of its own servants, 105.  
 Ethiopic Inscription from Egypt, 159.  
 Pahlavi, A Rhymed Ballad in, 29.  
 Ribeiro, Captain João, and his History of Ceylon, 1622-1693, 1.  
 Sanskrit, Buddhist, 13.  
 Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio, 162.  
 Turkish Ghost Words, 124.  
 Ujjhān-Ujjihāna-Ozoana, 25.

## REVIEWS:—

- Allan, J., 183-4, 186-7; Arberry, A. J., 99-100; Ballhachet, K. A., 187-8; Basham, A. L., 92-5, 180-1; Beckwith, J., 191-2; Boxer, C. R., 75-6, 81, 96-7; Boyle, J. A., 169; Burrow, T., 184-5; Cadell, P., 188-9; Ceadel, E. B., 77-8; Christie, A. H., 87-8; Clauson, G., 74-5; Craig, A. J. M., 82-3; Davies, C. C., 92; Derrett, J. D. M., 89-90; Driver, G. R., 172; Dunlop, D. M., 81-2; Führer-Haimendorf, C. von, 182-3;

- Gershevitch, I., 84-6; Gibb, H. A. R., 189, 190; Graham, A. C., 78-80; Gray, B., 100-3; Gurner, W., 185-6; Hahn, E., 80-1, 178-9; Hardy, P., 95-6, 97-8; Hawkes, D., 78; Honeyman, A. M., 83-4; Hony, H. C., 169-170; Master, A., 88-9; Moule, A. C., 173-4; Parry, V. S., 170-1; Pulleyblank, E. G., 176-8; Richardson, H. E., 76-7; Robinson, B. W., 191; Searle, H. F., 86-7; Thomas, E. J., 98; Thompson, M. S. H., 90-2; Tritton, A. S., 171, 189-190; Waley, A., 172, 174-6; Wickens, G. M., 98-9; Winstedt, R. O., 179-180.

## *Art and Archaeology*

- Creswell, K. A. C., A Bibliography of Painting in Islam, 191.  
 Irwin, S., A Study in Indo-European Influences, 191.  
 Stchoukine, I., Les Peintures des manuscrits Timûrides, 100.

## *Buddhism*

- Conze, E., J. B. Horner, D. Snellgrove, and A. Waley, Buddhist Texts through the Ages, 98.

## *Central Asia*

- Blake, R. P., R. N. Frye, History of the Nation of Archers (The Mongols) with Mongolian names and terms, by F. W. Cleaves, 74.

## *Far East*

- Borton, H., S. Elisséeff, W. W. Lockwood, and J. C. Pelzel, A Selected List of Books and Articles on Japan in English, French, and German, 77.  
 Carroll, T. D., Account of the T'ü-yü-hün, 176.  
 Chow Yih-Ching, La Philosophie Morale dans le Neo-Confucianisme (Tcheou Touden-Yi) with Preface by P. Demiéville, 78.  
 Dawson, C., The Mongol Mission, 173.  
 Demiéville, P., v. Chow Yih-Ching.  
 Elisséeff, S., v. Chow Yih-Ching.  
 Goodrich, C. S., Biography of Su Ch'ö, 176.  
 hGos Gžon-nu dpal v. Roerich, G. N.  
 Hambis, L., Marco Polo, 173.  
 Hopkins, L. C., v. Tai Tung.  
 Irwin, R. G., The Evolution of a



- Chinese Novel: Shui-Hu-Chuan, 78.  
 Jones, F. C., Japan's New Order in East Asia, 1937-45, 80.  
 Kou Pao-Koh, I., with Preface by P. Masson-Oursel, Deux Sophistes Chinois: Houei Che et Kong-Souen Long, 79.  
 Lockwood, W. W., v. Borton, H.  
 Masson-Oursel, v. Kou Pao-Koh.  
 Pelzel, J. C., v. Borton, H.  
 Pulleyblank, E. G., Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-Shan, 174.  
 Roerich, G. N., The Blue Annals, Part I, 76.  
 Su Ch'o, v. Goodrich, C. S.  
 Tai T'ung, The Six Scripts, on the Principles of Chinese Writing, tr. by L. C. Hopkins with a memoir of the translator by W. P. Yetts, 75.  
 Wang Yi-T'ung, Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549, 81.  
 Yetts, W. P., v. Tai T'ung.

#### *India and Pakistan*

- Altekar, A. S., Catalogue of the Gupta gold coins in the Bayana hoard, 183.  
 Basham, A. L., The wonder that was India, 184.  
 Chakravarti, A., Tirukkural, 90.  
 Dasgupta, A. K., v. Sinha, N. K.  
 Dighe, V., Bombay Record Series, Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Dept., 1755-1820, 188.  
 Fawcett, C., The English Factories in India, Vol. III, New Series, 96.  
 Gonda, J., Aspects of Early Visnuism, 185.  
 Gune, V. T., The Judicial System of the Marathas, 89.  
 Hollister, J. N., The Shi'a of India, 95.  
 Karve, J., Kinship Organization in India, 182.  
 Krause, C., Ancient Jaina Hymns, 88.  
 Majumdar, R. C., Ancient India, 180.  
 Mukherjee, T. K., v. Sinha, N. K.  
 Ramachandran, T. N., Nāgārjuna-konḍa, 1938, 92.  
 Saran, P., Studies in Medieval Indian History, 97.  
 Sarkar, J. N., Bengal Nawabs, 92.  
 Sinha, B. P., The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha, c. 455-1000 A.D., 186.  
 Sinha, N. K., with T. K. Mukherjee and A. K. Dasgupta, Selections from District Records: Midnapore Salt Papers; Hijli and Tamluk (1781-1807), 187.

- Subbarao, B., Baroda through the Ages, 93.

#### *Islam*

- Corbin, H., Avicenne et le Récit Visionnaire, 98.  
 Massignon, L., Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique Musulmane, 99.  
 O'Shaughnessy, T., The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran, 189.  
 Smith, M., The Šūfī Path of Love, 189.

#### *Near and Middle East*

- Arberry, A. J., Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts. Vol. I (The Chester Beatty Library), 171.  
 Caquot, A., v. Ingholt, K.  
 Duchesne-Guillemin, J., Ormazd et Ahriman, L'Aventure dualiste dans l'antiquité, 84.  
 Hardie, J. B., v. Kotb, Sayed.  
 Ingholt, K., K. Seyrig, J. Starcky, A. Caquot, Recueil des Tessères de Palmyre, 172.  
 Kotb, Sayed, Social Justice in Islam, tr. by J. B. Hardie, 82.  
 Kreider, H. H., Essentials of Modern Turkish, 169.  
 Lambton, A. K. S., Landlord and Peasant in Persia, 81.  
 Lambton, A. K. S., Persian Grammar, 169.  
 Philby, H. St. J., Sa'udi Arabia, 190.  
 Runciman, S., A History of the Crusades, Vol. III, 170.  
 Selms, A. Van, Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature, 83.  
 Seyrig, K., v. Ingholt, K.  
 Starcky, J., v. Ingholt, K.  
 Tavadia, J. C., Indo-Iranian Studies, I, 85.

#### *South-East Asia*

- Leach, E. R., Political Systems of Highland Burma: a Study of Kachin Social Structure, 87.  
 Nūruddin Ar-Rāniri, Maleise Gescriften van, ed. by P. Voorhoeve, 179.  
 U Hla Pe, v. U. Pok Ni.  
 U Pok Ni, Konmara Pya Zat, Vol. I, tr. by U Hla Pe, 86.  
 Voorhoeve, P., v. Nūruddin Ar-Rāniri.  
 Wurtzburg, C. E., Raffles of the Eastern Isles, 178.

#### *Addendum*

- Yetts, W. P., A Notable Chinese Bronze, *JRAS.*, 1954, pp. 105-111 + Pl. XXVIII.